THE RUBAI'YAT

OF

AR KHAYYAM

Translated from the Persian and Edited
with an Introduction and Notes by

Parichehr Kasra

THE RUBĀʿĪYĀT OF ʿUMAR KHAYYĀM

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Parichehr Kasra

Pahlavi University, Shiraz

SCHOLARS' FACSIMILES & REPRINTS
DELMAR, NEW YORK, 1975

The Ruba'iyat of 'Umar Khayyam

First Edition

Published by Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, Inc.
P.O. Box 344, Delmar, New York 12054

Printed in U.S.A.

UNESCO COLLECTION OF REPRESENTATIVE WORKS
PERSIAN SERIES
This work has been accepted in the
Persian Translation series of the
United Nations Educational Scientific
and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Omar Khayyam.
The Ruba'iyat of 'Umar Khayyam.
(UNESCO collection of representative works: Persian series)
I. Kasra, Parichehr, tr. II. Title. III. Series.
PK6511.E5P3 891'.55'11 75-14964
ISBN 0-8201-1139-2

UNESCO COLLECTION OF REPRESENTATIVE WORKS
Persian Series

This volume has been accepted in
the Translation Series of Persian Works
jointly sponsored by
the Royal Institute of Iran for Translation and Publication
of the Pahlavi Foundation, Tehran,
and the United Nations Educational, Scientific
and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

Persian Heritage Series No. 21

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Acknowledgement

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT is made to Professor Ḥeshmat Moayyad of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations of the University of Chicago, who, after reading the text of my translation of ʿUmar Khayyām's rubāʿīyāt, showed a continuing and very kind interest in it. It was in consultation with him that the plan of the comprehensive introduction to this translation was made. I am also most grateful to him for his making accessible several books and a rare article which otherwise would have been difficult to obtain. I had frequent correspondence with him while I was working on the introduction and I cherish his encouragement.

I would also like to thank Mr. James G. Magill, now retired member of the English Department of the University of Wisconsin. I greatly appreciate his generosity in reading the text of my English translation of the Rubāʿīyāt and kindly making suggestions for improvement.

Acknowledgement is also made to the staffs of the libraries of the University of Wisconsin for assistance in acquiring microfilms, photocopies, books, and other materials essential for the completion of this work.

Introduction

ʿUmar Khayyām and the Persian World of His Time

Persia (Iran) under the Saljuqids

ʿUmar Khayyām was born early in the 5th century A.H. (11th century A.D.) and died about the year 509/1115, or 517/1123, or 526/1132. During the years 426-31/1035-40 large armies of the Ghaznavids were almost continually fighting against the Türkmen, usually identified as a yellow-skinned people, who had been encroaching on the settled land north of Khurāsān for some time. The invaders, however, conquered Persia and founded the powerful Saljuqid dynasty. The vast empire of the great Saljuqids was far from being a centralized homogeneous political entity. Rather, it was made up of a group of provinces quite diverse in their historical backgrounds and social orders. The great sultans of this Turkish dynasty, Alp-Arslan and Malik-Shāh, gave their vast domain a degree of noteworthy unity. Yet even during the reign of Malik-Shāh, the most powerful of them, the power of the sultan centered on Iṣfahān and had great weight in central and western Iran, ʿIrāq, and Khurāsān; beyond these areas it diminished. From the death of Malik-Shāh until Sanjar came to the throne this central power suffered, and, after the latter died, it completely disappeared. Saljuqid rule falls into two periods. The first, or the age of the great Saljuqids, began with the attack of the Türkmen on Khurāsān and ended with Sanjar's death in 552/1157. The second, which began after Sanjar died, can be thought of as the period of disintegration of the empire. ʿUmar Khayyām lived during the first period, and, to provide a glimpse of the world in which he lived, this part of the Saljuqid period is described here.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The Saljuqids came to Transoxiana and Khurāsān in the 5th/11th century. They belonged to the Oghuz Turks, a group of nine tribes,[1] and came as roving plunderers. Shortly before the close of the 4th/10th century, they had become Muslims in the region of Jand, and their conversion to Islam and the zeal that they showed for *jihād* (holy war) against the pagans became important factors in their ultimate success in conquering much of the Middle East. At first, however, Saljuq's three sons, Mūsā, Mīkā'īl, and Arslan Isrā'īl, together with two sons of Mīkā'īl, Toghrīl Beg Muḥammad and Chaghrī Beg Dā'ūd, offered the services of their men to various factions in Transoxiana and Khwārazm who were at war with each other, asking in return for pasture for their herds. A powerful, ambitious role in the Persian world or conquest of Byzantium and other Christian kingdoms could not have occurred to them then.

The rulers of Persia at this time, the Ghaznavid sultans, tried to use the Saljuqids as guardsmen to protect parts of the border against further incursions and raids by the Türkmen, and gave them robes and titles. This arrangement lasted for only a short time and soon the Ghaznavids found themselves engaged in wars with the Saljuqids that were to continue for almost five years. The better-led Ghaznavid armies with their superior weapons, elaborate siege machinery, impressive camp equipment, and elephants and horses finally lost the battle to the Saljuqids. The mobility of the nomads together with their ability to endure the extremes of the climate and live on little water and food when necessary, coupled with their being accustomed to wars, were major factors in their favor.[2] Once it appeared that resistance would not help, the great cities of Persia surrendered, and, taking the initiative, the city fathers and great landowners made peace with the Saljuqids. It was in 431/1040, when Sulṭān Mas'ūd was personally leading his large but dispirited and tired army, that the Ghaznavids were decisively defeated.[3]

The victory gave the Saljuqid leaders sovereignty over vast territories. Since they were unskilled in the art of administration and

government, they found it necessary to depend heavily on their Persian advisers and officials. They showed eagerness to follow the traditions established by great Persian-Islamic monarchs, and, painful as this adaptation was, the great Saljuqid sultans showed a degree of noteworthy success in their newly acquired roles.

After the victory Toghrïl occupied the west and his brother, Chaghrï Beg, the east. Being mindful of family obligations, they also appointed various members of the Saljuqid family as governors of less important regions. These small rulers, unwilling to submit to a greater authority, created frequent disturbances. Yet the Saljuqids did not change their policy toward their near kinsmen.

Toghrïl, the supreme ruler of the Saljuqids, had no male heir. As a result, in the struggle for succession that developed among Chaghrï's sons, the skillful maneuvering and manipulation of Niẓām al-Mulk, the brilliant and highly capable Persian vizier of Alp-Arslan, one of Chaghrï's sons, guaranteed the success of various efforts and Alp-Arslan came to the throne in 455/1063. In 456/1064 the caliph gave him the honorary titles of "Trusted Son," *ʿAḍud al-Daula* ["Strong Arm of the State"] and *Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn* ["Light of Religion"].[4]

The Saljuqid sultans Toghrïl and Alp-Arslan did not intend an all-out attack on Christian Armenia, Georgia, and Byzantium—aggression against the Christians does not appear to have been one of their major policies. Their aim was to occupy and control the rich lands of ancient Persian civilization. This they achieved. The decade of Alp-Arslan's rule, 455-65/1063-73, together with the following two decades of the reign of his son, Malik-Shāh, 465-85/1072-92, form a remarkably rich period in Persian history. The central government was extremely powerful and the authority of the sultans unquestionable. The successful and continuous campaigns of the father and the son strengthened the internal unity and led to considerable expansion of trade and agricultural prosperity. Commercial centers of cities like Kirmān included colonies of

foreign merchants from such distant areas as Byzantium and India. Intellectual and cultural activities also flourished.

This period of thirty years (455-85/1063-92) may be called the age of the great vizier, Niẓām al-Mulk ["Order of the Realm"]. Early in his career this Persian adviser and administrator received his title. He counselled the two sultans faithfully and directed the administration of the vast empire with great freedom. Continually he tried to encourage the two sultans to act in the great Persian-Islamic monarchical tradition and in this he met with considerable success. His *Siyāsat-Nāma* ["Book of Government"], a "Mirror for Princes," provides great insight into the political character of the period, is a guide to court etiquette, and sets forth the administrative procedures in the empire. Military duties, too, were among the major responsibilities of Niẓām al-Mulk who early in his administration had formed a powerful professional army made up basically of slave soldiers loyal to the sultan.[5] Not only did he accompany his sovereigns into their battles, but he also undertook highly prestigious and successful expeditions of his own. His great interest in education, too, led to the expansion of the *madrasa* (colleges of higher education) system. During the reign of Alp-Arslan, he received the honorary titles of *Qawām al-Dīn* ["Support of Religion"] and *Raḍī Amīr al-Mu'minīn* ["Favored One of the Commander of the Faithful"] from the caliph.

Soon after his accession, Alp-Arslan, accompanied by his heir, Malik-Shāh, and his vizier, Niẓām al-Mulk, invaded Armenia and, after its submission, entered Georgia where a political marriage with the niece of the Georgian king, Bagrat IV, strengthened his influence. Later in his reign when Alp-Arslan was in northern Syria, he heard that Byzantine Emperor Romanus Diogenes had penetrated with a vast army into Armenia. Some troublesome Türkmen, tribal followers of the Saljuqids who had remained nomads (as Niẓām al-Mulk describes them in his *Siyāsat-Nāma*), had at times carried on raids along the frontier-lines. But such skirmishes had not been significant. Angered by the assault, Alp-Arslan marched

to meet the enemy. In the battle that took place at Malāzgird, the Byzantine army was badly defeated. A hero in the eyes of the Muslims, Alp-Arslan allowed Romanus to ransom himself and pay tribute. However, the deposition of Romanus nullified the agreements, and, though Malik-Shāh's attitude toward Byzantium was the same as his father's, in the centuries that followed only the very small kingdom of Georgia remained as an independent Christian territory in the Caucasus.[6] Early in his reign Alp-Arslan had also secured the eastern provinces of his vast empire, first by the use of force, and later by following conciliatory policies.

In 465/1072, while on a campaign, Alp-Arslan was stabbed to death by a local castellan. Several years earlier in 458/1066, he had made Malik-Shāh heir to the throne and had again used the occasion for granting the governorships of the eastern frontier territories to the members of his family in spite of his awareness of their frequent tendencies to rebel and create problems. The new sultan, Malik-Shāh (465-85/1072-92), was only eighteen years old, a young man whom Niẓām al-Mulk had tutored as an *atabeg* and had hoped to control and mould into an ideal monarch. He in turn used to address the great vizier "Father". Directed and guarded by Niẓām al-Mulk, Malik-Shāh continued the triumphs of his father and in certain ways surpassed him. There was a nucleus of *ghulāms* or slave troops in the standing army which Niẓām al-Mulk had formed; the rest were mercenaries. These warriors were from diverse nationalities, among them Turks, Georgians, Armenians, Greeks, Slavs, Arabs, Khurāsānis, and Kurds. Malik-Shāh's achievements resulted more from the statesmanship of Niẓām al-Mulk rather than his own. Once the young monarch became secure in his position and the eastern and north-western enemies were brought to submission, Syria and Palestine, too, were conquered. Thus his empire extended as far as the Mediterranean.[7] His influence even reached the Arabian Peninsula, and Yemen and Aden were temporarily occupied during the last year of his life. After his Syrian conquest an attempt was also made to restore harmony

between the caliph and Malik-Shāh, and a marriage alliance took place with much pomp and ceremony; however, it failed to create the expected friendship.

Among the disquieting elements during the latter part of Malik-Shāh's reign was the appearance of the Ismā'īlīs or Assassins who, though not a major threat to the government, to some extent disturbed the attempts to return to a Sunnī orthodoxy which was being encouraged by Niẓām al-Mulk. In 483/1090 Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ seized the fortress of Alamūt. Opposition also built up towards the great vizier by the sultan's wife Turkan Khatun who sought the appointment of her younger son Maḥmūd as the heir to the throne, while the vizier and the army preferred Berk-Yaruq who appeared to be the most capable of the sultan's sons but who was of a different wife. As this eventually led to considerable internal unrest, Niẓām al-Mulk submitted his resignation to the sultan. However, fearful of his power and influence, Malik-Shāh did not accept it. Shortly after these events, while on his way to Baghdad, Niẓām al-Mulk, who had served three generations of Saljuqid monarchs, was assassinated, apparently by a *fidā'ī* (devotee). But in fact, his death was a result of the intrigues of Turkan Khatun. Tāj al-Mulk was named the new vizier; and as he was a Shī'ī this was a new defeat for the Sunnī orthodoxy. Fifty-three days after the murder of Niẓām al-Mulk, Malik-Shāh too was dead, of a fever, at the age of thirty-seven, in 485/1092.

Upon the sultan's death warfare developed among his sons and lasted until the death of Berk-Yaruq in 498/1105. The sultan's wife Turkan Khatun and Tāj al-Mulk, the new vizier, had acted promptly and vigorously and put the four-year-old prince Maḥmūd on the throne; while, in Ray the Niẓāmiyya, the rival party which included the sons, relatives, and partisans of the late vizier, crowned the twelve-year-old Berk-Yaruq. The sudden death of Turkan Khatun, followed by that of her son, Sulṭān Maḥmūd (485-87/1092-94), brought about a brief period of peace during Berk-Yaruq's reign. However, the rise of another half-brother, Muḥammad, led to new

internal confusion, wars, and shiftings of alliances. These conditions also helped the spread of Ismā'īlism. Exhausted with continuous campaigns, often ill, and having been wounded several times by the Assassins, Berk-Yaruq died at the age of twenty-five (487-498/1094-1105). The empire, which was tired of civil wars, was now ready to submit to any man who could ensure peace. As a result Muḥammad ruled unchallenged as sultan for thirteen years (498-511/1105-1118), showed much zeal for the *sunna*, and with some success tried to solve the problem of the Ismā'īlīs, although a permanent solution was never reached. During this period Muḥammad's brother, Sanjar, remained as viceroy in the east and Khurāsān, the cradle of Saljuqid power, and received the title of Malik.

Muḥammad died in 511/1118 and his son, Maḥmūd, whom he had appointed as his heir, came to the throne. However, Sanjar, unwilling to accept the status of a subordinate to his nephew Sulṭān Maḥmūd, defeated him in a campaign, proclaimed himself the sultan, and, in return, appointed Maḥmūd as his heir. Earlier during the reign of Berk-Yaruq, Khurāsān had suffered from internal dynastic conflicts which resulted in the destruction of many fortresses and much oppression and devastation. But historians say that Khurāsān flourished during Sanjar's time.

Sanjar was the most capable of Malik-Shāh's sons, lived a long life, and ruled over Khurāsān for twenty years, and over the Saljuqid empire for forty-one years. During the first decades of the 6th/12th century he brought considerable stability to his empire, yet perplexing problems plagued the later part of his reign. In 536/1141-2 he received a crushing defeat from Qara-Khitai in Qatvān in a battle in which nearly a hundred thousand men were killed. Then Atsiz, the Khwārazm-Shāh, invaded Khurāsān and plundered many towns and cities. To these were added the discontent of the Ghuzz tribesmen in Khurāsān who, tired of the tyranny of the sultan's slaves, rebelled against him. In the battle that followed, they captured the sultan and piled up corpses in the streets. Sanjar's

captivity amongst the Ghuzz lasted for more than three years during which period the Ghuzz brought much ruin and destruction on Khurāsān, and other members of the Saljuqid family filled the vacancy which resulted from the sultan's captivity. Finally in 551/1156 Sanjar escaped and returned to his capital, Marv, where he died in 552/1157, unable to bring order to his severaly torn empire. With his death ended the first period of the reign of the Saljuqids over a large empire that extended from central parts of Asia to the Mediterranean and as far as the frontiers of the eastern Roman empire in Asia Minor. The second period is marked with the splitting of the fabric of the empire as disunity prevailed among the princes and amirs, and provinces were divided among them.

During the Saljuqid period Persia was under the dominion of the Turkish peoples: The Türkmen, the Oghuz, and Qïpchaq, and the Turks of the Qarluq group.[8] Most of the ruling dynasties came from these tribes that covered a vast area from the valleys of the Indus river to the Mediterranean. Among them were a few Persian (Iranian) dynasties, who were descendants of the ancient kings. They either became tributaries to the Turks and thus survived, such as the Bāvandid dynasty and the Shīrvān-Shāhs; or, if they became powerful, they were subdued by the Turks, like the Shansabānī rulers of Ghūr.

THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The power and statesmanship of Niẓām al-Mulk made the reign of the great Saljuqids a period of peace and order during which Persian civilization reached heights of secular and religious achievement not easily surpassed. After the death of the great vizier came destruction and tyranny. In the violent struggles for succession, the sons of Malik-Shāh waged frequent wars against each other; and violence, famine, hardship and pestilence were all common. The result was devastation of the provinces and depopulation of the towns. Iṣfahān and Khurāsān suffered especially; and uncertainties, social afflictions, and economic losses were widespread. While justice had been

attributed to Malik-Shāh, Niẓām al-Mulk, and Sanjar, some of the Saljuqid sultans were charged with weakness and negligence.[9]

In spite of the unifying power of the Islamic religion and military force there was a "standing opposition . . . between Turk and non-Turk and between the military and the rest of the population."[10] The Saljuqids were great warriors and spent much of their time on military campaigns. Many of these, such as those conducted by Toghrïl Beg, Alp-Arslan, and Malik-Shāh, were wars of expansion. Others, such as those fought by Malik-Shāh's sons, were internal wars for succession. In spite of all the military expenses and the extravagances of the sultans, the treasury was often very strong and filled with gold and jewels. The victorious Turks not only robbed and plundered the people when they conquered a town, but also, sometimes quite unexpectedly, would renew their looting from time to time.

Niẓām al-Mulk was greatly successful in keeping the state treasury strong during the reign of Alp-Arslan and Malik-Shāh. The two monarchs had much money stored in different parts of the country, kept primarily for military use. The Saljuqid sultans also had their own private treasury. The extent of the distinction made between the state and the private treasury is not clear.[11] Some of the Saljuqid wives, too, such as Sanjar's mother, were women of substance. Taxes, both canonical and noncanonical, were major sources of revenue.[12] Confiscation, practiced by Toghrïl Beg, was another rather important source, and although it appears that Alp-Arslan and Malik-Shāh did not approve of it, it was favored by the later sultans.[13] Another source was jewels, money, or land received from the buying of offices. There were also presents and gifts received from those who wished to retain or secure the sultan's favors. These usually went to the private treasury of the Saljuqids. Tribute was also paid by some of the local rulers; however, this was not a regular source as it was affected by various political and military considerations.

As the Saljuqids had been converted to Islam prior to their coming to Persia and thus were armed with the weapon of Islamic religion,

the Muslim Aryan natives did not strongly object to their occupation of the country. The general Islamic policy of recommending renunciation of racial and ancestral prejudices among the believers was in their favor and defeated the attempts of the Persian leaders who tried to use the national feelings of the people against the invaders. (The conversion of the Qipchaq tribes was more complex. Depending on the area of their settlement, some of them became Muslims while others became Christians and participated in certain battles against the Islamic countries.) A common religion enabled the Turks to associate with the Persians more easily and to a rather considerable degree adapt themselves to their new environment. The newly converted Muslim Turks soon surpassed the others in their religious zeal and fanaticism, as well as in the careful observation of one *madhhab* (rite) to the point of the exclusion of the others. This led to considerable power on the part of the *faqīhs* (Muslim jurisprudents) and religious devotees and, in turn, left a strong mark on the Islamic culture.

A gradual weakening of national pride continued during the 5th/11th century and reached its peak during the 6th/12th century. This was partly due to the successive dominion of various tribes of Turks over the country. Also, Muslim religious teachings condemned the belief in racial superiority, class distinctions, and boasting about national and ancestral glories. The spread of these new thoughts made even some of the writers and poets of the time ridicule the heroes of Persian history and proclaim as false the ancient legends which contained the national history of Persia.[14] The reverence that the Persians had shown to their kings of the Sāmānid dynasty during the 4th/10th century no longer existed. Their former trust in the institution of the monarchy was greatly weakened and they were reluctant to obey the racially different Turks and pay taxes which they thought would be spent for wars or the constant and extravagant feasts and revelries of the Turks. There was also a lowering of moral standards and a loss of humanitarian feelings among the people and it is of this degeneration that the poetry of the period frequently complains.

Toward the close of the 5th/11th century more and more poems appear lamenting the decline of mercy, magnanimity, and faithfulness, and the waning of intellectual movements and cultural values.[15]

The presence of a large number of slaves greatly affected the life of everyone. The amirs, the viziers, and at times even the poets had slaves, and the sultans were served by several thousands of them, mostly Turks, though there were slaves of other origins, too. No social stigma was attached to the slaves and many of them became amirs, some royal ushers, others governors of the provinces, while some others led large divisions of the army. At times they even deposed, imprisoned, or murdered some of the sultans. Niẓām al-Mulk, the great vizier, had many slaves who formed a considerable military power; and it was these slaves who after his death followed their late master's desire by protecting Berk-Yaruq and putting him on the throne as the new sultan. Some of the slaves were corrupt, contemptuous toward scholars, and violent toward the people. These to some extent were responsible for the creation of certain chaotic conditions during the Saljuqid period. Some of the sultans' treatment of them, too, would frequently go to extremes. Sanjar is particularly famous for his wild treatment of his favorite slaves. He would often shower his most cherished ones with favors, reveal his passionate and irrational love to them, and idolize them. At other times he would destroy them with astonishing brutality. Since it was permitted by some of the Muslim *faqīhs*, courting and loving the slaves was common among the slave holders (including the poets) of this period, as it had been among those of the previous one. However, the poems of this period on the subject lack the beauty of those of the former period.

Among these slaves many were warriors. Others were companions, musicians, or ushers, while some held lower positions and worked as cooks, maids, and servants. Most were Turks, but some were Armenians, Indians, Ethiopians, or were brought from various parts of the Asia Minor. The Saljuqid sultans used them especially

as warriors and tax-collectors as they had shown a particular ability for extracting taxes and annual tributes, sometimes with great brutality.

Shaken by the invasion of the Turks, at the beginning the Persians feared that all the social and administrative orders might undergo severe changes. Fortunately the Turks, though successful as warriors, were not administrators. Hence they completely depended on a class of Persian officials to arrange the administrative matters of the empire and hold it together. Among these were powerful viziers, such as Kundurī and especially Niẓām al-Mulk, who became major and valuable factors in placing the conduct of the government in the hands of the Persians. In his book *Siyāsat-Nāma*, Niẓām al-Mulk not only collected many of the established laws, rules, and regulations of Persia but he also left a blueprint for others to follow.

The wisdom, efficiency, and genius of Niẓām al-Mulk brought peace and stability to the reign of the great Saljuqids and gathered together men of learning. To raise the intellectual standards, he founded new *madrasas*, called *Niẓāmiyyas* in his honor, in large cities. Madrasa education, as in other educational institutions, was free. At the Niẓāmiyyas, the students also received generous living allowances. There were, of course, other colleges. Niẓām al-Mulk's example led to the establishment of additional educational institutions by other patrons and leading figures. The great vizier used to consider the search for outstanding scholars and their appointments one of his own responsibilities. In 479-80/1081, on Malik-Shāh's visit to Baghdad, he himself gave lectures on *ḥadīth* (tradition) at his madrasa.[16]

Madrasa education was basically a religious one. Prejudices of the amirs, faqihs, and 'ulamā of various religious sects including Ṣūfis, led to a decline of philosophy and sciences. There was not a scientist during this period who was not accused of heresy and lack of religious faith. Yet Niẓām al-Mulk and Malik-Shāh erected an observatory and gathered several outstanding astronomers of the period, among them 'Umar Khayyām, who were commissioned to correct the calendar.

Upon the assassination of Niẓām al-Mulk there followed a period of instability and despair. The internal dynastic conflicts and a struggle for power in which Turkan Khatun, Malik-Shāh's notorious wife, played a major role continued for more than a decade and led to much cruelty and destruction. Turkan Khatun, famous for her wild revelries and for having her victims drowned in the Oxus river (Amu Darya river), plotted the assassination of the vizier, and thus caused the disintegration of the Saljuqid dynasty. Once her small son was proclaimed sultan she went to Iṣfahān and emptied the treasury by distributing the money among the amirs and the army. As a result Berk-Yaruq was frequently in financial difficulty.[17] During these troubled years some parts of the Persian empire, such as Fārs, northern parts of Āzarbāijān, Arrān, Ṭabaristān, the areas governed by the Ghaznavids, India, and the territories of the Saljuqids of Asia Minor, were relatively peaceful and became havens for the poets and scholars.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE PERIOD

From the second half of the 5th/11th century through the first decades of the 7th/13th century strong religious prejudices created frequent, tragic conflicts and massacres in Persia. In the clashes that took place lives were lost, *madrasas* were destroyed, and libraries were burned. Altogether a zeal for religious studies and an increase in the number of faqīhs and ʿulamā, who were powerful and some of them also corrupt, interfered in government and political matters; and their denunciation of philosophical and scientific studies led to a decline of the Islamic civilization.

The Saljuqid sultans were greatly concerned with religious matters. They were Ḥanafis, who believed that the Baghdad caliphs were the rightful successors of the Prophet, and were against the Shīʿīs. Alp-Arslan like his father Toghrīl obeyed the caliphs of Baghdad, strongly opposed their adversaries, and strengthened the Muslim world with his successful campaign against the Byzantine empire.

Since the Saljuqids were Sunnīs, during this period Sunnism was widespread in the empire. It was strong in eastern Persia, while Shīʿism was popular in Persian ʿIrāq and Ṭabaristān. In the Muslim world of the time, four Sunnī sects, *Mālikī*, *Ḥanafī*, *Shāfiʿī*, and *Ḥanbalī*, were prominent. Of these the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs were powerful in Persia because the ruling sultans were Ḥanafīs and chose their viziers from either of these two groups. There were numerous *munāẓaras* (formal religious disputations) during the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries some of which were held in the presence of the sultans, viziers, or amirs. Every sect was determined to prove that others were wrong. This would rouse the public and end in the burning of one quarter of a town and the massacre of its residents by the members of the opposing sect. Events of this nature continually took place in Iṣfahān between Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs, in Ray between the members of these two sects and the Shīʿīs, and in other cities between all of them and the Ismāʿīlīs.[18] The Ismāʿīlīs retaliated with political assassinations.

Among the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs the controversy was over the superiority of one sect to the other, free will versus predestination, or the validity of visions.[19] Between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs disagreement was over a greater range of differences, among them the problem of succession after the Prophet. These controversies led to writing books, using abusive language, misrepresenting the facts, and insult. A specimen of such writing with a noteworthy title is *Baʿḍi Faḍāʾiḥ al-Rawāfiḍ* ["Some of the ignominies of the Shīʿīs"] which contains sixty-seven of these "ignominies" and was written about 556/1161 against the Shīʿīs by an ex-Shīʿī who had been converted to Sunnism.[20] Shīʿīs did not remain idle and around 560/1165 Qazvīnī wrote a book in answer with the complete title of *Baʿḍi Mathālib al-Nawāṣib fī Naqḍ Baʿḍi Faḍāʾiḥ al-Rawāfiḍ* ["Some vices of the Sunnīs, a destruction of the ignominies of the Shīʿīs"]. The book better known as *Kitāb al-Naqḍ* happens to also contain many important historical points. To denounce the Sunnīs, Shīʿīs accused them of believing in some of the Ismāʿīlī views; and Sunnīs said the

same of the Shīʿīs. Shīʿīs also attacked Sunnīs for their belief in tradition and predestination, as well as animosity toward the family of the Prophet and error in the matter of succession. Sunnīs accused the Shīʿīs of misleading and converting the ignorant poor and of being materialistic.

The Saljuqid period is particularly significant for the opening of great teaching institutions of higher learning, or *madrasas*, for religious studies. Professor Bausani writes that these "might be considered to be amongst the first universities of the civilized world. For in this way the bases were laid for almost all the organized institutions of Muslim religious culture."[21] The great Persian vizier, Niẓām al-Mulk, was the most active figure of the period in establishing these *madrasas* which in his honor were called *Niẓāmiyyas*. Of these the Niẓāmiyyas of Baghdad (founded in 457-59/1065-67) and Nīshābūr were especially famous. In these universities the teaching was done by *mudarrises* (professors) and *muʾayyids* (assistants). Each student had his own *ḥujra* (room) and was granted a living allowance. "The *curriculum studiorum* consisted of *fiqh* (Muslim Law) *ḥadīth* (traditions of the Prophet), *tafsīr* (exegesis of the Qurʾān), literary theory, mathematics, and medicine."[22] These institutions had rich libraries. However, there was "a decline in the speculative sciences. . . . [And there were many] attacks on philosophy, i.e., on purely speculative, Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic philosophy."[23] Hence there were attacks on the great Persian philosopher and physician Ibn Sīnā (370-428/980-1037), among others. ʿUmar Khayyām, who was not exactly a philosopher, was also one of the targets of these attacks, and rubāʿī 129 of the Furūghī edition must have been one of ʿUmar's answers to his enemies.

During the Saljuqid period Shīʿism was spread throughout the country chiefly in the form of numerous "centers of resistance."[24] Of the various Shīʿī sects only four were significant: the *Zaidīs*, the *Nuṣairīs*, the *Ismāʿīlīs*, and the *Imāmīs* (Twelvers); and the Imāmīs were stronger and in a better position than the others. The Saljuqids came to power at a time when Shīʿīs, particularly the powerful

Ismāʿīlīs, were about to destroy the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The Saljuqids threw their weight behind the Sunnī caliphate of Baghdad and gave it a new strength and prestige. To this they added an unceasing and merciless policy of suppressing the Shīʿis. *Siyāsat-Nāma* contains many passages which reveal the strong anti-Shīʿī feelings and attitudes of its author and the great Saljuqid sultans. In it Niẓām al-Mulk states that all the administrators, professional civil servants, and tax collectors were "clean" Sunnīs, either from the Ḥanafī or the Shāfiʿī sects. No Zoroastrian or Jew or Rāfiḍī would dare to offer his services to the great men, and the Turks never employed the Shīʿis who "in words claim to be Muslims, but in action are heretics." So writes the great vizier whose assassination was partly plotted by the Shīʿis and carried out by the Ismāʿīlīs.

These anti-Shīʿī policies led to even greater religious activities by the Shīʿis. Some of them traveled as pioneers and religious missionaries to spread their beliefs. Others intensified their efforts wherever they were. Among various methods they increasingly used *manāqib-khwāns* (Singers of Virtues) who in bazaars and public places would sing of the virtues of ʿAlī and other Shīʿī imāms, of the absolute transcendence of God, of his justice, and of his power. To counteract the infuence of the manāqib-khwāns, the Sunnīs used the *faḍāʾil-khwāns* (also meaning Singers of Virtues), who sang of the virtues of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, of *jabr* and *tashbīh* (predestination and anthropomorphism), and, interestingly, of the great exploits of the pre-Islamic Persian heroes. On this latter point the *Kitāb al-Naqḍ*, speaking for the Shīʿis, says:

> They invented false wars and stories which had no foundation about Rustam, Suhrāb, Isfandiyār, Kāʾūs, Zāl, and others besides these and sent the singers of these idle tales to sing in the bazaars of the cities so that the braveries and virtues of the Prince of the Believers [i.e., ʿAlī] would be confuted. And this heretical innovation is still observed; for to sing of the praises of the *gabrakān* [Zoroastrians] in the nation of Muḥammad, the chosen one, is heresy and aberration.[25]

It appears that this was also the period of renewed interest in *ta'ziyas* (a sort of religious dramatic performances) which mourned the martyrdom of Ḥusain. The practice, however, is said to have probably started during the rule of the Būyids.

During this period some very outstanding religious books were produced by Shī'ī scholars. Among these are the important Qur'ānic commentary by Shaikh Ṭūsī, and another Qur'ānic commentary in Persian by Abu'l-Futūḥ Rāzī. The period is also significant for the production of "a remarkable number of those compositions, partly heresiographic and polemical, partly theological and historical, which could be defined as forerunners of our modern handbooks of comparative religion."[26] In 485/1092 Abu al-Ma'ālī Muḥammad 'Ubaidallāh wrote the first book of this nature in Persian, *Bayān al-Adyān* ["An Explanation of Religions"]. Later in the Saljuqid period Sayyid Murtaḍā Dā'ī Ḥasanī of Ray wrote *Tabṣirat al-'Awāmm*, a kind of encyclopaedia of religions. In spite of all the suppressions and persecutions during the Saljuqid period, Shī'ī centers flourished everywhere. They had their own mosques, madrasas, libraries, and scholars.

One of the most important Shī'ī movements of the period was that of the rebellious and much-feared Ismā'īlīs. The establishment of the Fāṭimid dynasty of caliphs in Egypt in 257/969 was a victory for the Ismā'īlīs, who immediately rose in prestige. After the rise to power of the Saljuqids, who were fanatical Sunnīs, the influence of the Fāṭimid line in Persia was weakened. However, Ismā'īlīs remained strong in the highlands and came to depend less and less on Egypt.

'Abd al-Malik-i 'Aṭṭāsh, a *dā'ī* (one who calls others to the faith and is head of religious teachings), was in charge of the Ismā'īlī activities throughout a vast territory from Kirmān to Āzarbāijān in the 1070's and his headquarters were in the Saljuqid capital of Iṣfahān. Under his direction the ardent Ismā'īlī followers boldly defied the Saljuqid rule. Unfortunately no intact Ismā'īlī chronicle has survived and the hostile Sunnī chroniclers do not say enough

about the Ismāʿīlīs. It appears that after Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (483-518/1090-1124), an ex-Shīʿī convert to Ismāʿīlism, came to the attention of ʿAbd al-Malik-i ʿAṭṭāsh, he was given a position in the organization and sent to Egypt. He returned to Persia after two years to seek a suitable base from which he could carry out his mission. After his appointment as *dāʿī* of Dailam, Ḥasan chose the fortress of Alamūt in the Alburz mountains north of the city of Qazvīn, and after a gradual infiltration of the place forced its commandant to sell the fortress in 483/1090. Soon after this, in 485/1092, the Ismāʿīlīs assassinated the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk and for more than a century and a half (483-654/1090-1256) formed a state in the midst of the Saljuqid states. In Alamūt, Ḥasan set a stern example and led an austere life spending much time writing as well as organizing the activities of his followers. He was a severe and pious man and had his two sons killed, one on a murder charge, which later turned out to be false, and the other for drinking wine. Such disciplinary measures made his followers more militant in mood. Soon Ismāʿīlīs held other fortresses in the Persian highlands and mountainous areas.

From these bases the Ismāʿīlīs carried out their characteristically decentralized attacks. To these uprisings they added the potent weapon of assassination. The murder of outstanding figures, they thought, would create more chaos and disorder in the society than massacres of the common people. The volunteers who were prepared to undertake these highly dangerous missions were called *fidāʾīs* (devotees). Those who would be killed in an assassination attempt would be considered as martyrs. Sulṭān Sanjar who was anxious to destroy Ḥasan and relieve his empire from the Ismāʿīlīs one night found a dagger driven by a *fidāʾī* in the hall floor in front of his throne. It is said that Ḥasan then sent a message to Sanjar saying that he who could pierce the hard ground with a dagger could also pierce the soft bosom of the sultan. As a result Sanjar discontinued his plan for the elimination of the Ismāʿīlīs. Such was the dread of the people of these assassinations which were usually performed in a dramatic way and in public places. These assassinations were often followed by a massacre of the Ismāʿīlīs and mere suspicion that an

individual had any kind of association with this dangerous sect was sufficient reason for his elimination.

Little is known of the intellectual inclinations of the Ismāʿīlīs, and the same can also be said of their mysterious institution. Perhaps such information was confined to those who had been initiated. The hostility and fear of other chroniclers and writers, too, must have prevented them from any attempt to cover and preserve matters related to the Ismāʿīlīs. At Cairo the official doctrine of Ismāʿīlīs had developed into a sophisticated and complex cosmological system.[27] But the rebellious Ismāʿīlīs of Persia were more influenced by the doctrine of *taʿlīm* (authoritative teaching) attributed to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, who had presented it in an essay in Persian. However, the extent of his contribution to the doctrine is not clear. The concept of *taʿlīm* was widely recognized by Shīʿīs in general. They had always denounced the Sunnīs for their presumptuous selection of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as the first and second caliphs while they themselves believed in the succession of ʿAlī in whose divine designation by the Prophet himself they firmly believed. They further condemned the Sunnīs for their interpretation of the teachings of the Prophet according to their own judgement. These divine teachings, they thought, should only be explained by those successors who were clearly designated by the Prophet and were his descendants—hence their belief in *taʿlīm* or authoritative teaching.

Another religious movement was that of Ṣūfism. One of the most important periods in the history of Ṣūfism in Persia starts in the second half of the 5th/11th century and ends early in the 7th/13th century. During the latter part of the 5th/11th century great Ṣūfī saints lived in *khānaqāhs* (cloisters) in the Sunnī regions of Transoxiana, Khurāsān, and ʿIrāq, where they had many disciples. The first mystic poet of Persia Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khair (d. 440/1048-9) was living in Khurāsān at that time and so was Qushairī (d. 465/1073), the outstanding Ṣūfī theoretician, both of whom had attracted many disciples. Ṣūfism was to be gradually organized into significant brotherhoods and schools. The same province of Khurāsān saw

the spread of the fame of the great Ṣūfī saint and writer, Khwāja ʿAbdallāh Anṣārī (d. 482/1089). Shortly before this another great saint and writer Khwāja Yaḥyā b. ʿAmmār al-Shaibānī, disciple of saint Ibn Khafīf of Shīrāz had gone to Herāt where he had held discussions and spread Ṣūfī teachings.

Sunnīs were rather friendly towards the Ṣūfīs, while the Shīʿis, at least early in this period, were decidedly opposed to Ṣūfism, sometimes quite violently. Their change of heart is a later development. The favorable attitude of the Sunnīs greatly strengthened the position of the Ṣūfīs during the Saljuqid period and led to the establishment of new Ṣūfī brotherhoods in Persia. The first so organized mystical fraternity was that of Kāzarūniyya (425/1034, Shīrāz). About the end of the 6th/12th century the two most important Ṣūfī schools were those of Kubrāviyya, founded in Khurāsān, and Suhravardiyya.[28]

While the general Sunnī attitude was favorable and Ṣūfīs had deeply penetrated into their circles, a negative feeling persisted among some orthodox Sunnīs. Revealing his suspicion of the Ṣūfīs, the Ashʿarī theologian Ibn al-Jauzī criticized the Ṣūfī life of the period in his book *Talbīs Iblīs* ["Imposture of the Devil"]. Eliminating the prejudiced passages the following summary of his statements provides the reader with excellent information:

> The Ṣūfīs of the 6th/12th century owned numerous *ribāṭs* (hospices). The ancient ascetics had chosen these ribāṭs for seclusion and worship where they lived as single men. But the 6th/12th century Ṣūfīs lived a comfortable life there where they were busy with eating, sleeping, prayers, and dancing, and would ask for livelihood from every tyrant. Most of these ribāṭs were built and endowed by cruel men whose wealth was ill-gotten. (Such endowments, *waqf*, supposedly would purify their wealth.) Much of the time of the residents of these ribāṭs was spent in visiting the men of the world. The Ṣūfīs of this period would rather lose their possessions in extravagance. Imitating the disciples of the Prophet and as a sign of piety

> they would wear *khirqas* (garments made of shreds and pieces) covered with patches on patches of different colors. Some of the Ṣūfīs had a woolen garment underneath. Others who were more worldly would wear soft underwear over which they would wear woolen robes. To enjoy the world some of them would associate with the amirs and would avoid the poor. Some had long gowns and others being fussy had special robes for prayers; and some others, being extremely pious, had only one garment. They would eat but little. - Some of the *sāliks* (ascetics) had to fast for two full months before their initiation and eat very little thereafter, avoiding tasty food and fruits. Also they had to avoid the company of delightful friends and the reading of such books as would bring joy. Some Ṣūfīs had to go through *arba'īniyya* (from the Arabic word *arba'īn* meaning "forty"). This meant half-fasting for forty days. Some would not eat at all for several days. The excess in these practices leads to temptations, insanity, or bad temper. To deny themselves any pleasure, they would even avoid drinking clean water. This was the way of life of the former Ṣūfīs. The 6th/12th century Ṣūfīs eat day and night and much of what they eat is acquired with ill-gotten money. They neither work nor worship.[29]

Ṣūfīs were fond of singing and would deny its being forbidden by Islam. Ghazālī said that there was no canonical law aganst it. They thought of singing as a means of nearness to God and when they would hear someone singing they would clap in ecstasy, yell, tear their robes to pieces, and, throwing them away, they would dance. Sometimes the shreds and pieces of these garments were given to the people thinking that they would bring blessings to them. In the *ribāṭs* the Ṣūfīs often had intercourse with *shāhids*, "beautiful youth, symbols of the beauty of the Creator."[30] They firmly believed in *tawakkul* (reliance on God), would not work, were seemingly humble, and many of them avoided marriage. They often traveled all alone and without food. The study of sciences was not common among them as they thought that such activities would separate

the lover from his beloved (God). They used to call the Islamic canonical law *ʿilm-i ẓāhir* (purely exoteric science) and their own beliefs *ʿilm-i bāṭin* (esoteric science).[31]

The considerably more anti-Ṣūfī attitude of the Shīʿis during the Saljuqid period is reflected in *Tabṣirat al-ʿAwāmm*, a Shīʿī history of religions by Sayyid Murtaḍā b. Dāʿī Ḥasan-i Rāzī, who writes that six Ṣūfī sects existed in his time. This is a summary of his description:

(1) Those who claim to *ittiḥād* (unity) between the soul of the mystic and God. (2) The *ʿUshshāq* (lovers) who believe in renouncing the world, meditation, and asceticism, so that they may become recepients of the occult arts and sciences. (3) *Nūriyya* (from *nūr* meaning "light") claim that there are two types of veils: one *nūrī* (from light), the second *nārī* (from fire). *Nūrīs* acquire good habits and attributes, while *nārīs* acquire satanic attitudes. (4) the *Wiṣāliyya* believe that they have reached God. They are of the opinion that prayers, fasts, pilgrimages, etc., prepare the individual for reaching God. Once the individual reaches God (has realized the *Wiṣāl*) he no longer needs to perform these religious obligations. To this sect, writes Sayyid Murtaḍā, belong all his contemporary Ṣūfīs. (5) Another group does not believe in reasoning, sciences, and studying. They believe that the knowledge of God will be acquired through the power of suggestion of the *Shaikh* (the master of the group) and asceticism. They also believe that faith is divinely bestowed and as such is uncreated. (6) Those who belong to the sixth group are gluttonous, possess neither sciences nor religion, and always wander around for a morsel of food and dancing.[32]

Yet in spite of all such distrusts Ṣūfīs were free to practice and teach during this period and were frequently protected by such great men as vizier Niẓām al-Mulk who had much affection and respect for his former Ṣūfī teacher, the famous Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khair (357-440/968-1048), and is quoted to have said that as a pupil he had witnessed many miracles from the saint. He built and endowed many khānaqāhs at a time when Ṣūfism was in its formative age.

THE LITERARY CLIMATE

The Saljuqid period is one of the most outstanding eras in the history of Persian literature. Although the Saljuqids were Turkish, the official language of their courts was Persian, and, in imitation of the Ghaznavids, they patronized the poets everywhere. Their successive military victories brought a vast western area including the Caucasus, Asia Minor, and Syria under the sway of Persian language and literature. The Ghaznavids produced a similar result to the east as far as Punjab and Sind. The courts of the Khwārazm-Shāhs, too, were deeply influenced by the Persian culture. Writing on the effect of the Saljuqid dominion, Professor Rypka states that

> this wholly Turkish dynasty, holding sway over an immense area, played a very considerable part in the expansion of the Persian literary language and of Persian culture in general. That the principal Saljuq rulers themselves showed a lack of culture was no obstacle to this, mainly because their internal policy was in the hands of Iranian counsellors and trusted advisers, without whose help these barbarian warriors could scarcely have held their own in such a highly cultivated milieu.[33]

Seeking fame and prestige, not only the monarchs but also local amirs and men of great wealth and fortune competed with each other in encouraging the poets. A number of the sultans, great men, and scholars of the period were writers themselves and had their own collections. They would anxiously seek the company of the poets and would shower them with gifts in an effort to see the spread of their own fame in eloquent panegyric poetry. At times serious struggles and competitions would develop between two sultans or amirs who wished to attract a particular poet, scholar, or writer. As they would pay very high prices for panegyric poetry, the court poets became accustomed to living in luxury and extravagance. However, not every poet could be bought. Among them were those who were pious and learned such as Nāṣir Khusrau whose poems

contained philosophic ideas, and Sanā'ī whose *mathnawīs* reflect his mysticism and asceticism. Many of these poets were scholars. Nāṣir Khusrau was a philosopher and a man of extensive learning whose writings in metaphysics and logic are well known. 'Umar Khayyām was a great astronomer whose fame during his life rested on his scientific achievements rather than his quatrains.

A significant movement which had been started early in the 5th/11th century by the schismatic 'ulamā and speakers as well as great scholars, such as Abū Raiḥān and Ibn Sīnā, who wrote scholarly books in Persian, also continued during this period and with great intensity. This led to the appearance of numerous books written in Persian and dealing with various important topics. Hence a further expansion in Persian scholarly publications.

Another highly noteworthy development during the Saljuqid period was the use of poetry by the Ṣūfis who had widely penetrated the nonfeudal circles of the society. They used poetry extensively, whether for singing or for teaching. In all their writings they used a deliberately simple Persian that could easily be understood by everyone. Thus Persian literature which so far was almost exclusively patronized by the monarchs, their courts, and great men of wealth, fame, and power, became widely spread among the people and the beautiful verses of the pious and learned poets were enthusiastically recited by the masses. Sanā'ī who earlier in his life had written panegyrics later turned to writing mathnawīs which contained strong elements of asceticism, mysticism, and didacticism. Once he led the way, a number of poets appeared among the Ṣūfis and in khānaqāhs who were independent of the courts. The results were new subjects for poetry, simplicity of language, and infinitely more moving expression of feelings. The sensitive, subtle, and delicate thoughts of these poets brought new refinement and brilliance to Persian literature. In the centuries that followed, even during the most difficult and trying periods of Persian history, khānaqahs provided a haven for many poets.

Some of the poets of the Saljuqid period showed much interest in

the themes of the Arab literature. The first poet whose works were influenced by these themes was Manūchihrī who belongs to the previous period. In this period Lāmiʿī, Burhānī, and Muʿizzī paid special attention to Arab compositions and imitated them.[34] Their works contain such Arab themes as the description of deserts and the lives of the desert-dwellers and wanderers. Also one notices a gradually increasing absorption of Arab words in the literary productions of this period. The poets of the time were attending madrasas and all were well familiar with Arabic language and literature. Persian language was also absorbing some Turkish words as the rulers of the country were Turks. The period also witnessed the infiltration of local words and dialects in the literary language.

A particularly striking element in the poetry of this period is a strong note of pessimism. The dominion of the Turkish tribes, their frequent wars and the accompanying lootings and tyranny, the prevailing religious hypocrisy, and the spread of corruption brought much unhappiness and led to the increase of complaints in poetry and at times the withdrawal of some of the poets from the society to some extent. While the ideas of a self-imposed isolation and renunciation of the world were almost nonexistent in the poetry of the previous period, the poetry of the Saljuqid period is full of lamentation and contempt for the world.[35]

At the beginning of this period the poets were under the influence of the early Ghaznavid works and even some were trying to revive the styles of the Sāmānid writers. The *qaṣīdas* and poems of Nāṣir b. Khusrau Qubādiyānī remind one of the late 4th/10th century poetry. Poets like Lāmiʿī, while imitating the early Ghaznavid poetry, were eager to use new approaches. Qaṭrān, who was imitating the poetry of the Sāmānid period, also employed new techniques and figures of speech; and Nāṣir Khusrau introduced philosophy into his poetry.[36]

There was much stress on novelty of style and form, and the forms already perfected by the old masters were now being modified or replaced by new ones. The first great poet of the mid 5th/11th

century, Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī (d. after 448/1039) rendered *Vīs u Rāmīn* into Persian verse, thus making a significant contribution to a new school of narrative poetry. Sanā'ī mingled mystic and pious thoughts with didacticism and learned logic. These, together with his frequent learned allusions, have at times made his poetry difficult to comprehend. Consequently some commentaries on his works have appeared. His mathnawīs, especially his *Sair al-ʿIbād ila'l-Maʿād* ["The Pilgrimage of the Servants of God to the Place to which Everyone Returns"], a poem with a theme somewhat reminiscent of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, particularly the *Inferno*, and his *Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaqīqa* ["The garden of Truth"] contain lines which cannot be understood without a complete knowledge of metaphysics, theology, logic, and philosophy. In these beautiful and moving mathnawīs Sanā'ī presents his didactic, critical, and ascetic thoughts in a most eloquent language and with unique interpretations. Not only did he develop a new approach to qaṣīda but he was also one of the first poets to use *ghazal* for mystical contemplations. From the beginning of the 5th/11th century, Ṣūfīs started using ghazal in khanaqāhs for moralizing as well as entertaining and Ṣūfism produced many ghazals for its own end. Mathnawīs as well as *rubāʿīs* (quatrains) were also used as a medium for lyrical expressions. The lyrical rubāʿīs of the period are numerous and most of them are very delicate and charming.

Various types of poetic compositions flourished during this period. Panegyric poetry was widely used. This may be the oldest type in Persian poetry as the kings always patronized the poets and gave them generous pensions so that their names might be immortalized.[37] The panegyric poetry of the early decades in the 5th/11th century was more natural as there was less exaggeration in it. The great monarchs of the previous period were sincerely respected by the people and did not need to use low devices for acquiring fame. However, the newly-risen amirs of unknown origin would purchase such poems for fantastic amounts of money. In contrast with panegyric poetry, satire was an old Arab form and in this area the Persians are imitators.

As panegyric became full of exaggerations during this period, so did satire. At times social satire, as in *Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaqīqa*, was accompanied with obscenity which some poets used freely.

The romantic tale existed in Middle Persian literature and this form of poetry, so deeply characteristic of Persians, continued after the Arab invasion and the spread of Islam; however, little of it has survived. Early in the 5th/11th century ʿUnṣurī rendered the ancient tale of *Wāmiq u ʿAdhrā* into verse and produced a romantic epic. Another such epic, *Warqa u Gulshāh*, by ʿAyyūqī, has also reached us from this time. About the middle of the 5th/11th century the previously mentioned tale, *Vīs u Rāmīn*, a Persian "counterpart of the medieval European Tristan and Isolde epics,"[38] was rendered into verse by Gurgānī. Later in this century *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā*, also a delightful romantic epic, was produced in verse form by an anonymous poet.[39]

While national heroic epic was at its best during the 4th/10th and the first half of the 5th/11th centuries, it was quite neglected during the Saljuqid period. With the dominion of the Turkish peoples over Persia, it was natural for the poets to turn to other subjects and forms. The spread of Shīʿism, which encouraged the writing of religious heroic epics, was also another factor. This is especially true of the 6th/12th century when Shīʿī poets chose the wars of the Shīʿī imāms as subjects of their heroic epics. Sunnīs on the other hand encouraged writing about national heroes of Persia, and under the influence of Firdausī, the poets wrote some epics of this nature. Among these are *Garshāsp-Nāma* of Ṭūsī, *Bahman-Nāma* of Irānshahr b. Abi al-Khair, and *Farāmarz-Nāma*, all of which appear to have been written late in the 5th/11th or early in the 6th/12th century.

The Structure and History of the Rubāʿī

It is thought that the *rubāʿī* (quatrain) was the first essentially Persian poetic form produced after the Arab invasion. There are several stock anecdotes about how a single *miṣraʿ* (hemistitch) was first created by the chance utterance of a child and heard by Rūdakī or another ancient poet, who after a study of it produced the quatrain measure. The rubāʿī is made up of four miṣraʿs of various *hazaj* rhythms with either an aaba or aaaa pattern of rhyme. This brief form easily lends itself to epigram and usually contains a climatic point in its last miṣraʿ, "which drives home a point, completes a verbal irony or paradox, or sums up a moral or lesson."[40] The form was originally called *du-baytī* (two couplets).

One scholar states that

> some admirers of FitzGerald's ʿUmar imagine that quatrains can be linked together to form a poem, I should perhaps emphasize the fact that the effect of continuity in FitzGerald's version is due to his arrangement and selection of the rubāʿīs which he translated, and that quatrains are always quite independent and complete in themselves, and, in the collected works of Persian poets, are never arranged otherwise than alphabetically, according to the final letter of the rhyme.[41]

This view is incorrect. Composing a chain of continuous and related rubāʿīs was not FitzGerald's innovation. Muʿīn al-Dīn ʿAbbāsa in his *Risāla-yi ʿArūḍ*, apparently written early in the 9th/15th century, wrote: "I have said three rubāʿīs. Their language and themes are related."[42] Mudrik b. ʿAlī al-Shaibānī, one of the 5th/11th-century Arab poets, has a long poem made of a chain of fifty related rubāʿīs.[43] Also, alphabetical arrangement of the rubāʿīs

according to the final letter of the rhyme is a later practice which was not observed in the very old collections.

Soon after the creation of this brief and beautiful poetic form, the rubā'ī, different poets attempted to use it. Of those who lived shortly before 'Umar Khayyām, Abū Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khair (357-440/967-1048), one of the great Ṣūfī Shaikhs, is well known for his having used the rubā'ī as a vehicle of mystical contemplation. He is believed to be the first Ṣūfī to present his thoughts in poetry, and from this point of view he is the forerunner of Sanā'ī and 'Aṭṭār. However, it is difficult to determine which of the many rubā'īs attributed to him are authentic.

To the middle of the 5th/11th century belongs Bābā Ṭāhir of Hamadān, nicknamed 'Uryān (the naked), who was born in the latter part of the 4th/10th century. He was a man of ecstatic pure faith and sincerity. To him are attributed a number of simple and extremely delicate and charming *du-baytīs* in the Lurī dialect which are widely popular among the people and have undergone some changes in the process of oral transmission. They do not have the depth of Khayyām's rubā'īs but their beauty and appeal are unquestionable.

Abū Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khair and Bābā Ṭāhir are only two of the poets who lived before 'Umar Khayyām and used the rubā'ī form with considerable success. There were other writers of rubā'īs before Khayyām, others among his contemporaries, and still others after him. Among Khayyām's contemporaries who wrote rubā'īs is Sanā'ī, one of the greatest of the mystic poets and best known for his mathnwīs. He lived about 473/1080-81 in Ghazna. Others are Shihāb al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan Ṭalḥa, Tāj al-Dīn Ismā'īl Bākharzī, Ḥakīm Sanā'ī, and Ismā'īl Juzaqānī, who while still living acquired considerable fame for his rubā'īs and most likely was known to Khayyām, for he, too, was from Nīshābūr. Among the poets who lived after Khayyām but before the 8th/14th century and are well known for their rubā'īs are Anwarī, Jamāl al-Dīn, Kamāl al-Dīn Isfahānī, 'Aṭṭār, Maulavī, and Bābā Afḍal.

ʿUmar Khayyām

The man we know as ʿUmar Khayyām, Khwāja Imām Ḥujjat al-Ḥaqq Ḥakīm Abūʾ l-Fatḥ (or Abū Ḥafṣ) ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmī (or al-Khayyām) Nīshābūrī was born sometime during the first half of the 5th/11th century in or near Nīshābūr. He was one of the greatest Persian mathematicians, astronomers, and poets of his period. Little is known of his birth and early life. The late ʿAbbās Iqbāl Ashtiyānī believed that at some point ʿUmar Khayyām had been one of Ibn Sīnā's students, for in his treatise *al-Kawn wa al-Taklīf* ["Being and Obligation"], written in Arabic in 473/1080, ʿUmar speaks of a problem under study as "one of those in which most people are puzzled. . . ." Then he adds, "Perhaps I and my teacher . . . Ibn Sīnā . . . who have looked attentively. . . ."[44] If such a reference is more than a mere courtesy, then ʿUmar must have lived about a hundred-fifteen years, since he died about 509/1115? or 517/1123? or 526/1132? and Ibn Sīnā in 428/1037, and he must at least have been in his teens to attend the lectures of Ibn Sīnā. While this is not impossible, there is no reference in his works to extreme old age, nor has such a mention been made in the works of his contemporaries or those following soon after. However long his life, we can be fairly certain it was a long one.

The most ancient sources of a variety of biographical information date from 515/1121 (*Mīzān al-Ḥikma* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khāzinī) to the second half of the 6th/12th century (*Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā*). Khāzinī, a famous contemporary of Khayyām whom Professor Humāʾī believes to be the oldest source, makes frequent mention

of ʿUmar and some of his projects in physics, including work on a kind of balance for "calculation of the specific gravity of substances heavier than water."[45] Another source is *al-Zajir Lilṣighār* by Zamakhsharī, which Professor Furūzānfar believes was written before 516/1122. The relevant passages in this book reveal Khayyām's respect for scholars, including Zamakhsharī himself.[46] Also of interest is a personal letter from the poet Sanāʾī to Khayyām written before 525/1131 in which, highly vexed with an apparently unfounded accusation, Sanāʾī had sought Khayyām's assistance. Differing with Humāʾī and Furūzānfar, Professor Mīnūvī believes that this letter is the oldest of the extant documents.[47]

A well-known account of ʿUmar Khayyām appears in the *Chahār Maqāla* of Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, written about 551/1156, significantly in the section on the astronomers rather than that on the poets. Niẓāmī writes that in 506/1112 he met Khayyām at a feast in the city of Balkh in the Street of the Slave-Sellers and heard him say: "My grave will be in a spot where every spring the north [wind] will shed flowers on me." When in 530/1136 he reached Nīshābūr, few (or four) years had passed since Khayyām's death, and upon visiting his tomb, which lay next to a garden-wall, he noticed that it was covered with a profusion of blossoms fallen from pear trees and peach trees which had spread their branches over it. Niẓāmī writes that he then remembered what he had heard from Khayyām in the city of Balkh and that he fell to weeping, as he had nowhere seen a man like him.

After Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī another writer, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAli b. Zaid Baihaqī (d. 565/1169), who in his youth had met Khayyām, writes in detail about him. He calls him al-Dastūr al-Fīlsūf Ḥujjat al-Islām ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khayyām, and says that he was an ill-tempered follower of Ibn Sīnā, a scholar in religious jurisprudence and history, and in philosophy and mathematics without peer. However, he did not like to teach and was not a prolific writer. Of his writings Baihaqī makes mention of *Mukhtaṣar fī al-Ṭabīʿiyāt* ["A Short Treatise on Physics"], *Risālat fī al-Wujūd* ["A Treatise on Existence"], and *al-Kawn wa al-Taklīf*. He adds that one day while

vizier Shihāb al-Islām ʿAbd al-Razzāq was discussing different readings of a verse in Qurʾān with Abū al-Ḥasan Ghazālī and they could not agree with each other, Khayyām arrived. Shihāb al-Islām said that they had found a well-informed man and referred the question to him. Khayyām mentioned different readings, including the rare ones, explained the causes of their differences, and indicated his preference. Baihaqī's account shows that Khayyām's views on Qurʾānic questions, too, had been greatly respected by religious jurisprudents and scholars.

During his lifetime Khayyām was known as a great scientist and scholar rather than as a poet. It was not until about three or four decades after ʿUmar's death that a few of his rubāʿīyāt appeared for the first time in *Sindbād-Nāma* of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ẓahīrī Samarqandī, written in 556/1161. It quotes five of ʿUmar's quatrains without giving the poet's name. (All appear under Khayyām's name in later reliable sources.) The first writer to mention Khayyām as a poet is ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Ghazvīnī. In the *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr*, one of the reliable historical documents on poets of Islamic countries and written about 572/1176-77, ʿImād al-Dīn writes: "ʿUmar Khayyām was incomparable in his own period and was unique and proverbial in astronomy and philosophy."[48] Then he quotes an Arabic poem by Khayyām. The first reference to Khayyām's Persian poetry appears in *Nuzhat al-Arwāḥ* by Shahrazūrī, written a few years after *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr*. In it he claims that Khayyām "has good poems in Persian and Arabic" and quotes several of the Arabic ones. Finally the first reliable historical document which contains a Persian quatrain under Khayyām's name is *al-Tanbīh ʿalā Baʿḍi Asrār al-Mudaʿa fī Baʿḍi Suwar al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm* by Imām Fakhr-i Rāzī (d. 606/1209), who quotes the following quatrain (no. 31)[49]:

دارنده چو ترکیب چنین خوب آراست   از بهر چه افکندش اندر کم و کاست
گر خوب نیامد این بنا عیب کراست   ور خوب آمد خرابی از بهر چراست

In *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā*, written during the second quarter of the 7th/13th century, Qifṭī describes ʿUmar Khayyām as one who had a complete knowledge of Greek learning and adds that Khayyām recommended the recognition of God by avoiding lust and passion and seeking the purification of the self. Then, criticizing ʿUmar, he adds:

> The recent Ṣūfis have been deceived by the guises of his poems and interpret them in their own way. They bring them up in their gatherings, unaware that like beautiful striped and speckled serpents those poems have a luring appearance but a poisonous depth which harms the canon laws. Since the people of his time doubted the firmness of his religious views and controversy was current, Khayyām became fearful for his life and pulled the reins of his pen; and out of the fear of the uproar of the mob went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Upon his arrival in Baghdad he closed the door on himself and avoided meeting followers and admirers. After returning from the pilgrimage he tried to hide his secrets and pretended to worship. He is peerless in astronomy and philosophy and I wish that his religious views, too, were strong to the same extent. He has lofty poems, which in spite of all their goodness cannot cover the darkness of his soul.[50]

Qifṭī's harsh condemnation of Khayyām relfects the common fanaticism of the time. While it is possible, of course, that Khayyām went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, it is not certain that he did, as no other reference to it is known. The passage, however, does portray Khayyām as a cautious man who did not wish to clash with the religious beliefs and sentiments of the people. (Other trips attributed to Khayyām are those to Balkh, Herāt, and Iṣfahān.)

Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh ["Compendium of Histories"] of Rashīd al-Dīn (645-717/1247-1318), the great Persian historian, is the earliest known source of the story of the three school-fellows. This tale appears in FitzGerald's introduction to his translation as a quotation from the *Calcutta Review*, No. 59, based on Mīrkhwānd's (8th/15th

century) history, *Rauḍat al-Ṣafā*. The narrator is Niẓām al-Mulk who says:

'One of the greatest of the wise men of Khorassan was the Imām Mowaffak of Naishāpur, a man highly honoured and reverenced, . . . and it was the universal belief that every boy who read the Koran or studied the traditions in his presence, would assuredly attain to honour and happiness. For this cause did my father send me from Tūs to Naishāpur . . . , that I might employ myself in study and learning under the guidance of that illustrious teacher . . . . When I first came there, I found two other pupils of mine own age newly arrived, Hakim Omar Khayyām, and the ill-fated Ben Sabbāh. Both were endowed with sharpness of wit and the highest natural powers; and we three formed a close friendship together . . . . Now Omar was a native of Naishāpur, while Hasan Ben Sabbạh's father was one Ali, a man of austere life and practice, but heretical in his creed and doctrine. One day Hasan said to me and to Khayyām, 'It is a universal belief that the pupils of the Imām Mowaffak will attain to fortune. Now, even if we *all* do not attain thereto, without doubt one of us will; what then shall be our mutual pledge and bond?' We answered 'Be it what you please.' 'Well,' he said, 'let us make a vow, that to whomsoever this fortune falls, he shall share it equally with the rest, and reserve no pre-eminence for himself'. . . . Years rolled on, and I . . . rose to be administrator of affairs during the Sultanate of Sultan Alp Arslān.

". . . both his old school-friends found him out, and came and claimed a share in his good fortune, according to the school-day vow. The Vizier was generous and kept his word. Hasan demanded a place in the government, which the Sultan granted at the Vizier's request; but [he was] discontented with a gradual rise, . . . After many mishaps and wanderings, Hasan became the head of the Persian sect of the Ismailians, . . . he seized the castle of Alamūt, in the province of Rūdbar, which lies in the

mountainous tract, south of the Caspian sea; and it was from this mountain home [that] he . . . spread terror through the Mohammedan world; . . . One of the countless victims of the Assassin's dagger was Nizām-ul-mulk himself, the old school-boy friend.

"Omar Khayyām also came to the Vizier to claim his share; but not to ask for title or office. 'The greatest boon you can confer on me,' he said, 'is to let me live in a corner under the shadow of your fortune, to spread wide the advantages of Science, . . .' The Vizier tells us, that, [he] . . . granted him a yearly pension of 1,200 *mithkals* of gold, from the treasury of Naishāpur.

"At Naishāpur thus lived and died Omar Khayyām, 'busied,' adds the Vizier, 'in winning knowledge of every kind, and especially in Astronomy, wherein he attained to a very high pre-eminence. Under the Sultanate of Malik Shah, he came to Merv, and . . . the Sultan showered favours upon him.'"[51]

Delightful as this tale is, there is no historical evidence for its support, although Niẓām al-Mulk must have met Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. None-theless many translators of the Rubāʿīyāt have presented it as true.

ʿUmar Khayyām was greatly respected by Malik-Shāh and patronized by Niẓām al-Mulk, and the sultan used to offer him a seat among his companions. He was also very dear to Khāqān Shams al-Mulūk, who in Bukhārā would sit on his throne together with Khayyām. Ṣultān Sanjar, however, did not like him. When a child, Sanjar had contracted smallpox and ʿUmar, a student of medicine, was sent for. A negative comment on the personality of Sanjar by Khayyām, which was made outside the patient's chamber, was carried to the sultan and led to Sanjar's lasting dislike of Khayyām. ʿUmar Khayyām always associated with the great men. He lived with dignity, was well-to-do, and avoided extravagance.

Khayyām was respected by all his contemporaries who mentioned him in writing. Even those who did not have a favorable attitude toward him confessed to his genius. All recognized him as a great

scholar of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, history, and religious jurisprudence. ʿUmar seems to have believed in the golden mean: he did not struggle for the favor of the amirs, and, according to ancient sources, shunned sensual gratification. He was neither a politician nor a man of war, nor did he manifest racial or religious prejudices.

Khayyām was a man of high moral standards. The translation of the second *bait* (couplet) of one of his Arabic poems quoted in *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā* by Qifṭī is something like this: "In chastity I abstain from open or covered ill-deeds and break my fast with calling the God holy." One is also reminded of this comment by Qifṭī himself, who was a strong critic of ʿUmar: "Khayyām considers abstinence from the taints of sensual desire as the basis for humanity and ascension toward the highest origin [God]."[52] Yet Khayyām praises wine in his rubāʿīs. He seeks it because it enables him to forget the pains and sorrows of life. Many of his critics also add rightly that in the language of poetry wine is a common word.

ʿUmar was frequently occupied with philosophical thoughts. His rubāʿiyāt are abundant indications of them. However, while he wrote avidly on mathematics, he did not appear to wish particularly to write on philosophy. Perhaps since the great Persian masters Ibn Sīnā and Fārābī had written sufficiently in this area, he thought his own written contribution unnecessary. Although it is more likely that he wished to avoid stirring up the fanatic religious leaders and the mob. Philosophical speculations would have meant persecution and at times even death, as was the case with two great philosophers of the time, ʿAin al-Quḍḍāt and Shihāb al-Dīn Suhravardī, who were put to death in the 6th/12th century. This was a period when religious beliefs were held without challenge, logic denounced, and rationalization not tolerated. At such a time it was highly unwise to debate whether the world was "eternal" or "temporal," or whether there was life after death.

Yet Khayyām has brief philosophical treatises which are written specifically in answer to questions rather than spontaneously of his

own devising. In his book *Damī bā Khayyām*, ʿAlī Dashtī quotes a number of philosophical passages by Khayyām which are helpful for a better understanding of the poet-philosopher. Among these is a quotation from *al-Kawn wa al-Taklīf*, written at the request of Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Nasvī, one of the high-ranking judges of Fārs:

> If one should say why God has created conflicting things so that evil may arise from their clashes, the answer is simple and easy: For little evil much good cannot be overlooked. Moreover, the universal wisdom and generosity of God must grant to all created things their innate perfection. Parsimony and niggardliness do not exist in the Fountainhead of bounty. However, depending on closeness to or distance from that Fountainhead, the creatures are not on an equal level from the point of view of goodness and nobility . . . .

Then he adds:

> This was a summary of what the philosophers have imagined about the world of creation. If its principal elements can be strengthened with reason it will naturally lead you to certainty.[53]

Here ʿUmar has cautiously avoided presenting his own views; he has given instead the views of other philosophers. Moreover, in the last sentence he has introduced a very strong "if," easily indicative of a doubt which ʿUmar himself must have always felt.

Or, for example, in his *Jawāb ba Suʾāl-Kunanda-ī rājiʿ ba Khāliq, Khair wa Sharr, Masʾala-yi Jabr wa Ikhtiyār, wa Taḥqīqī dar Maʿnī-yi Baqā* ["Answer to a Questioner in Regard to the Creator, Good and Evil, the Question of Predestination and Free-Will, and an Inquiry into the Meaning of Eternity"], Khayyām briefly writes: "At first glance perhaps predestination is closer to reality, but [only] on the condition that one does not go fast in this respect and the matter does not degenerate to delirium and superstition. Then one will be far from reality."[54]

Many of ʿUmar's rubāʿiyāt contain subtle hints of life after death and resurrection, which betray his lack of concern for if not firm denial of them. What strikes the reader is his despair of returning

to this world. Insofar as religion promises eternal life, he professes bewilderment. ʿUmar seems not to have held the common religious views, yet was tactful and well-meaning. The bafflement of his sensitive soul, concerned as it was with various questions about life and existence, reveals itself in his rubāʿīyāt, which he tried so carefully to keep among friends. In one of his rubāʿīs (no. 70) he plaintively writes about predestination, something which had greatly perplexed him.

برمن قلم قضا چو بی من رانند　　پس نیک و بدش ز من چرا میدانند
دی بی من و امروز چو دی بی من و تو　　فردا به چه حجتم به داور خوانند

Some scholars have thought ʿUmar was a Ṣūfī. It does not appear that he was. In a metaphysical treatise written in Persian for Fakhr al-Mulk, called *Dar ʿIlm-i Kulliyāt*, Khayyām writes:

> Those who seek the recognition of God fall into four groups: (1) The *Mutakallims*, who have become satisfied with polemics and persuasive arguments; (2) Philosophers, who have taken refuge in sheer rational arguments but, unable to remain faithful to logical requisites, have fallen helpless; (3) The Ismāʿīlīs, who say that there are numerous difficulties and conflicting arguments in [the path to] the knowledge of the Creator and his attributes, and [human] intellects are confounded. Then [they say] it is better that we hear from *Ṣādiq* [right authority]; (4) The Ṣūfīs, who do not seek knowledge by reasoning, but rather [they seek it] by purifying the inner life and refining the morals. They have cleansed the rational soul[55] from the turbidity of nature. Once this essence becomes clear and is placed in front of the kingdom of heaven its [heaven's] forms[56] will appear in it. This Way is better than all of those.

Dashtī in quoting this passage writes[57] that it is not strange if Khayyām, pressed by Fakhr al-Mulk, wrote this; however, the puzzling point is that it perfectly corresponds with what Imām Muḥammad Ghazālī had written before in his *al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*.

In his treatise Khayyām finds the views of the first three groups unacceptable. This includes the philosophers all of whose views he praises with the exception of their views on divine philosophy. He writes: "The only group which may reach God with purification of soul and renunciation of sensual preoccupations, with yearning and ecstasy are the Ṣūfis."[58] This compromise on the part of ʿUmar may be explained by the fact that he was writing for a Saljuqid amir. To approve the views of the philosophers or the Ismāʿīlīs was inconceivable. The only possible alternatives were the Mutakallims and the Ṣūfis, and of these the latter seemed preferable.[59]

Another piece of historical evidence supporting the view that Khayyām was not a Ṣūfī is the fact that his name has not been found mentioned anywhere among the Ṣūfī Shaikhs. Moreover, famous Ṣūfis such as Shaikh Najm al-Dīn Dāya and Sulṭān Walad have not spoken favorably of him.[60] In addition, in the old manuscripts of the Rubāʿīyāt Ṣūfī quatrains are rare; the number of such quatrains increases in the later and less reliable collections. The mathematically oriented mentality of ʿUmar Khayyām could not have easily agreed with mysticism; nor could his bewilderment in the face of the inscrutable, his helplessness before the problem of death, and finally his inclination to look at life and death as a process of composition and decomposition of atoms and elements—a process so beautifully described in the quatrains associating pots with human clay. ʿUmar cannot be placed within the exact framework of any of the popular religious sects of his period; rather he must be thought of as a free-thinking and highly independent mind.

A study of the list of Khayyām's writings reveals his preference for scientific contributions, his reluctance to write extensively on philosophy, and his determination not to circulate his rubāʿīs.

His writings are:

1. His principal work on algebra (MSS in Leyden, Paris, and the India Office).
2. A treatise on the difficulties of Euclid's Elements, *Fī Sharḥ mā Ashkala min Muṣādarāt Kitāb Uqlīdis* (MS in Leyden).

3. Another treatise on the difficulties in mathematics, *Mushkilāt al-Ḥisāb* (MS in Munich).
4. A short treatise on physics, *Mukhtaṣar fī al-Ṭabī'iyāt.*
5. A treatise on the weight of silver and gold, *Fī al-Iḥtiyāl li Ma'rifat Miqdār al-Dhahab wa al-Fiḍḍa fī Jism Murakkab min-humā* (MS in Gotha).
6. A study of the methods of determining the orientation and the cause of the differences of climate among countries, *Lawāzim al-Amkina.*
7. A metaphysical treatise on "Being and Obligation," *al-Kawn wa al-Taklīf.*
8. "Answer to a Questioner in Regard to the Creator, Good and Evil, the Problem of Predestination and Free-Will, and an Inquiry into the Meaning of Eternity," *Jawāb ba Su'āl-Kunanda'ī rāji' ba Khāliq, Khair wa Sharr, Mas'ala-yi Jabr wa Ikhtiyār wa Taḥqīqī dar Ma'nī-yi Baqā.*
9. A brief metaphysical treatise in Persian, *Dar 'Ilm-i Kulliyāt* (MS in Paris).
10. Another metaphysical treatise "On Existence," *Fī al-Wujūd* (MS in Berlin).

For some time another anonymous Berlin MS, *Nawrūz-Nāma*, first discovered by Dr. Friedrich Rosen, was thought to have been written by Khayyām. This view is now rejected.

Kitāb-i Mīzān al-Ḥikma, written by al-Khāzinī in the Saljuqid times, gives an account of researches done by three Muslim physicists, including Khayyām, on the development of a variety of balances. This could be the same work dealt with in the treatise on method or on methods of determining the value of "objects studded with precious stones" without removing those stones, reported by *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, written about 1000/1591, and perhaps is not the treatise by Khayyām on the weight of silver and gold mentioned above under item 5. It appears that there may be a confusion in the reports.

Khayyām was also one of the eight scholars invited by Malik-Shāh to reform the calendar. They produced the *Jalālī* calendar

(from Jalāl al-Dīn, one of the names of the sultan). This calendar surpasses the Julian in accuracy and approximates the Gregorian.

Khayyām's rubāʿiyāt were written for personal pleasure and not for public circulation. ʿUmar's greatness lies not only in his thoughts but also in his style: simple, beautiful, almost epigrammatic. His poetry is free from complex techniques and artificiality. He avoids strange imagery, strained diction, and difficult or pretentious idiom. Rather the attempt is toward smooth lines and tastefully selected diction. Most of his poems are in Persian, but some, too, are in Arabic.

These rubāʿīs, universally admired in modern times, were not to the taste of narrow-minded people of his time and especially of the religious leaders of the period. Thus it is not surprising that he carefully prevented the circulation of his poems. Not a single rubāʿī was recorded under Khayyām's name during the 6th/12th century, and except for a few Arabic lines no other poem was ascribed to him until later. By the early 7th/13th century some of his rubāʿīs came to be quoted, and by 740/1340, the date of the writing of *Mūnis al-Aḥrār* (that is about 220 to 230 years after the death of Khayyām), the number of such rubāʿīs reached about sixty. Chronologically they appeared in this order:

1. In *Sindbād-Nāma* 556/1161, five rubāʿīs anonymously, four of which also appear in *Mūnis al-Aḥrār*, *Nuzhat al-Majālis*, and a MS in the Library of the Majlis (nos. 111, 122, 127, 146, 166).
2. In *al-Tanbīh ʿalā Baʿḍi Asrār al-Mudaʿa fī Baʿḍi Suwar al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm* by Imām Fakhr-i Rāzī (d. 606/1209), that is, about ninety years after Khayyām's death, one rubāʿī (no. 31).
3. In *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād* by Shaikh Najm al-Dīn Dāya, written about 618-20/1221-23, two rubāʿīs, one the same as in *al-Tanbīh*, (nos. 31 and 34).
4. In *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* by Juwainī written in 658/1260, one rubāʿī, which also appears in *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf* (no. 22).

5. In *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* written in 730/1330, one rubāʿī, which also appears in *Firdaus al-Tawārīkh* and *Nuzhat al-Majālis* (no. 50).
6. In *Nuzhat al-Majālis* written in 731/1331, thirty-three rubāʿīs, two of which are repeated and three of which appear in *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā*, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, and *Mūnis al-Aḥrār* (nos. 16, 20, 22, 23, 38, 50, 55, 60, 72, 74, 76, 91, 93, 94, 117, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 135, 136, 140, 146, 156, 159, 161, 165, 166, 170, 176.)
7. In *Mūnis al-Aḥrār* written in 740/1340, thirteen rubāʿīs, one the same as in *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād* (nos. 14, 24, 34, 69, 74, 97, 112, 113, 118, 127, 152, 160, 164).

There are also other, later sources which contain some of Khayyām's rubāʿiyāt. The rubāʿīs found here and there in the above-mentioned sources have produced the key to Khayyām's thoughts. The origin of these thoughts as well as their influence on the later poetry of Persia are discussed at length later.

Khayyām is buried in Nishābūr, where his tomb is often visited by admirers. William Simpson, an artist on the staff of the *Illustrated London News*, who had accompanied Sir Peter Lumsden and the Afghan Boundary Commission, visited the tomb on 8 October 1884. A short time later he wrote to Bernard Quaritch:

> Along the edge of the platform in front of Omar Khayyam's tomb I found some rosebushes; it was too late in the season for the rose, but a few hips were still remaining, and one or two of these I secured as well as the leaves,—some of which are enclosed for you; I hope you will be able to grow them in England.

The seeds were planted in Kew Gardens in England where they flourished as beautiful rosebushes. In 1892 a group of admirers of Khayyām founded an Omar Khayyām Club in England (membership was limited to fifty-nine because of the date of publication of FitzGerald's first edition), and they elected Mr. Justin Huntly McCarthy, the first English prose translator of the rubāʿiyāt, as president. In 1893 the Club planted two small Persian rosebushes

brought from Kew Gardens at the head of the grave of ʿUmar's great English translator, FitzGerald, at Boulge Churchyard, where they flowered. So reported the June 1894 issue of the *Kew Gardens Bulletin*, published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office. Finally in October 1934, on the occasion of Firdausī's millenary, the Persian Government built a new monument of white marble over Khayyām's tomb.

Khayyāmese Thought

Khayyām's thoughts, poured out in his simple and extremely beautiful rubāʿīs, were those of a philosophic and searching mind. He was puzzled by the mysteries of existence and lamented inconstancy and death. He did not believe in resurrection, and the deaths of the young and of beautiful women in particular filled him with pain, and the sufferings of man saddened him. He pondered man's origins and his rapid departure. He never stopped asking why men have come into this world and where they are to go when they die. Why were they placed in a world of pain and confusion? ʿUmar knew too well the finality of death and confessed that he was at a loss to discern God's purpose. Yet he was strongly aware of the beauty of nature and the loveliness of youth. He wished to take advantage of the fleeting time and spend it merrily. What is thought of as his Epicureanism was not of the simple "eat, drink, and be merry" variety. Rather it was intended as an antidote for the sorrows of the world. Khayyām was a man of admirable moral standards. His unusual independence of mind was accompanied by a remarkable loftiness of attitude. He neither flattered nor preached. His rubāʿīs, free of the heaviness of advice, offer instead gentle suggestion.

His thoughts on the uncertainty of the world, his praise of wine, and his insistence on seizing time and enjoying life can also be seen in the works of some of the other Persian poets, among them *Shāh-Nāma* of Firdausī. Firdausī's book is the story of kings, heroes, beautiful women, and handsome men who enjoyed power and affluence, yet whose power nor wealth nor youth nor beauty could protect them against the onslaught of the time.[61] Their lives were unavoidably all too brief. Firdausī presents generations and nations

as waves which rise and fall. In *Shāh-Nāma* he summarizes the thought and attitudes of pre-Islamic Persia and they also appear in Khayyām's rubāʿiyāt.

Commenting on Persia during the Sāsānid period, Christensen writes that under the influence of the new thoughts—Christian, Manichaean, and Hindu—the original optimism on which Zoroastrian religion was based and would create in the people a strong desire for activity, became weakened. A tendency toward asceticism and detachment prevalent among the anti-Zoroastrian sects gradually influenced the Zoroastrians, too. The views of the *Zurwānīs*, a Zoroastrian sect, became widespread and led to a prevailing belief in predestination. Christensen quotes this passage from *Mīnūg-i Khirad:*

> The heavenly wisdom or the spirit of philosophy says: Though man may be the possessor of a strong reason and a powerful knowledge he cannot fight with destiny. For when the inevitable destiny makes a man fortunate or wretched, the wise man becomes powerless in his work and the ill-minded ignorant one becomes quick and nimble. The weak-hearted become brave and the brave become weak-hearted. The active men will choose indolence and the indolent become active ...."[62]

There is much similarity between this quotation and the observations which are frequently made in the *Shāh-Nāma*. Christensen also quotes a passage from *Shikand Gumānik Vizār* ["Doubt-dispelling Explanation"], a book written in the 3rd/9th century in Pahlawī, in which one can see one of the roots of Khayyām's thoughts:

> A group called *Dahrī* who deny the existence of God, the Exalted, believe that they are under no religious obligation, and are not bound to perform good deeds .... They say: This world with the various incidents that take place in it, the combination of the things, the order of the actions, the clashes of the objects and the mixing of the elements with each other, all are derived from changes in the "infinitive time"; and they claim that there is neither a reward for good deeds nor a punishment for sins.

> There is neither a paradise, nor a hell; nor is there anything to encourage one towards a good deed or a bad one. They also say that there is nothing but matter in the world. There is no soul.[63]

While the pessimistic Zurwānīs believed that there was no divine reward or punishment for man's action and that man was a victim of destiny, Mazdā'īs believed in fate as well as in effort. In the opinion of the latter group luck and destiny would affect only the social and financial conditions of man and no more. They believed man free in choosing good or evil and not the object of the will of a Creator. To the contrary, Zurwānīs had many misgivings, and similar doubts also appear in Khayyām, whose rubā'īs are full of "how's" and "why's".

Zaehner thinks, with some exaggeration, that *Shāh-Nāma* is a reflection of the beliefs of the Zurwānīs. While destiny decidedly affects the lives of the heroes of *Shāh-Nāma*, the poem does not portray a uniformly cold and strictly materialistic point of view. Yet the Persia of the Sāsānid period was strongly affected by the beliefs of the Zurwānīs. An awareness of the uncertainties of the world and an inclination toward renunciation of it can be seen in Persian life of the time, and even in the very person of Ardeshīr, the founder of the Sāsānid dynasty. In his *Murūj al-Dhahab* Mas'ūdī quotes this passage from Ardeshīr addressed to his special companions:

> Do not put your trust in the world, for it remains constant to none, and do not grieve for it, for whatever God wishes will happen. Yet do not abandon this world, for the next cannot be had but through this.

Mas'ūdī also says that near the end of his life Ardeshīr gave up his rule, thinking that before him some had built cities, reared fortresses, and led armies larger than his, yet they all were laid in their graves and turned to dust. So he preferred to retire to an *Ātesh-Kadeh* (fire-temple) where he could worship God and become accustomed to a life of isolation.[64]

Most of *Shāh-Nāma* is based on *Khudāy-Nāma*, the story of the lives of the Persian kings compiled during the reign of Yazdgerd, at the end of the Sāsānid period. The compilers of *Khudāy-Nāma* were the *mūbads* and *dabīrs* (Zoroastrian priests and secretaries). Naturally whatever is in the book reflects the views of the clergy as well as the ruling class of the time. In *Shāh-Nāma* the views of the Zurwānīs and Mazdā'īs exist side by side. The belief in good and evil and a constant battle between these two forces, the belief in divine reward and punishment, in the next world, and in *mīnū* (paradise) have a Mazdā'ī color. However, affirming the uncertainties of the world; accepting the rule of heaven; portraying a state of doubt, and ignorance about the creation and the world to come all have their roots in Zurwānī thinking.

Several men in *Shāh-Nāma* have gnostic inclinations: among these are Iraj, Sīyāwush, and Kai-Khusrau. From the beginning of his youth Iraj leans toward detachment and peacefulness. When his father, Farīdūn, encourages him to fight against his brothers, he asks him what certainty there is in the world. He adds that at the end one must leave the world, that there have been other kings, and that he prefers to treat his brothers with gentleness. A more or less similar tendency can be seen in Sīyāwush, who is extremely pessimistic in saying:

درختی است این برکشیده بلند که بارش همه زهر و برگش گزند

It is a tree grown tall; the fruit of it is all poison and its leaves all harm.

And since he possesses a spirit like that of Khayyām he says:

بیا تا به شادی دهیم و خوریم چو گاه گذشتن بود بگذریم
چه بندی دل اندر سرای سپنج چه نازی به گنج و چه نالی ز رنج؟

Come, let us give and eat in merriment. When the time comes for passing away let us pass away. Why do you set your heart

on the transitory world?[65] Why do you boast of treasure, and why do you complain of pain?

Kai-Khusrau appears more gnostic and puzzling than the other two princes. Before he reaches middle life he renounces his rule and disappears in the mountains. His countenance is both royal and spiritual. On one hand he portrays the worldly power and glory, on the other the futility of life.

Such gnostic kings and princes in *Shāh-Nāma* as Kai-Khusrau, Iraj, and Sīyāwush are also noble heroes famous for their wisdom and judgment. They are respected, supported, and praised by the compilers of *Khudāy-Nāma* and Firdausī himself and are presented as outstanding examples. Although all three are destroyed, their defeats ultimately appear as victories as everyone confesses that they were right. A striking note of pessimism, which later became so identified with Khayyāmese spirit, can more or less be seen in all the Persian heroes of the *Shāh-Nāma* and sometimes even in their foreign peers. Firdausī's intention is to make his reader ponder. Constantly he brings his reader a new awareness of the strangeness of the world, a world which cannot be trusted. Long lives of a thousand or seven hundred years, such as those of Jamsheed or Zāl and Rustam, come to an end. Powers such as those of Ḍaḥḥāk and Afrāsiyāb are crushed. The good and the bad, the wealthy and the poor, all alike become victims of death. Besides Iraj and Sīyāwush other innocent youths like Suhrāb and Furūd die futile deaths in the bloom of their youth. Isfandiyār dies at the peak of his youth and power. Yazdgerd, the last of the Sāsānid kings, is killed at the hands of a wretched miller. The deaths of young and beautiful women permeate the entire poem with grief. The grieving Tahmīna cannot survive the death of her child. Jarīra, Furūd's mother and the widow of Sīyāwush, stabs herself. The daughters of Khusrau-Parvīz, Āzarmīdukht and Pūrāndukht, die young.

The advice of Persian kings, heroes, philosophers, and sages is all to the same effect: that the world is inconstant and not to be trusted; that one had better seize the moment without setting his

heart on it. There is much emphasis on being just, on acquiring knowledge, and on following the dictates of wisdom. Firdausī pays constant attention to the morals of his stories. He lives with his heroes, and the beginning and the end of the life of each one carry a special significance for him. Affected by his stories, his view of the world agrees with those of the heroes of his epic. Like them he believes that one should enjoy oneself and be gay as an antidote for the sorrows of the world, old age, sickness, and death.

The influence of the pre-Islamic Persian thought that can be seen in Khayyām and Firdausī is also evident in the poetry of poets before Firdausī and in his contemporaries. Among these are Shahīd Balkhī and Rūdakī, both from the Sāmānid period. Rūdakī's pessimism, like that of Firdausī, is accompanied by a desire to take advantage of the moment and spend it merrily. For Shahīd Balkhī the world is dark and sorrow is inescapable. Of the many poems that Rūdakī wrote few have reached us, yet in these few are many lines on the praise of wine. His wine, too, like Firdausī's and Khayyām's, brings mirth and forgetfulness.

Some of the quatrains attributed to ʿUmar Khayyām deal with the theme of man's ignorance of where he comes from, why he departs, and whither he will go (nos. 14, 32, 34, 59, 122, etc.). They reveal a sad and agonizing lack of faith and uncertainty. Hence the writer of *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād*, one of the earliest works in which two of ʿUmar Khayyām's rubāʿīs appear, calls ʿUmar a "philosopher, materialist, and naturalist," "a lost wanderer." Similar thoughts appear in *Shāh-Nāma*:

چنین است و رازش نیامد پدید   نیابی به خیره چه جویی کلید ؟

> It is so and its secret did not become clear. You cannot find it. Why do you seek the key in vain?

Like Khayyām, Firdausī, too, does not know what will befall man:

ز باد آمدی رفت خواهی به گرد   چه دانی که با تو چه خواهند کرد

> You have come from the wind and will return to the dust. How do you know what they will do with you?

Firdausī, Khayyām, Ḥāfiẓ have been more concerned with baffling questions about the creation than other poets. Khayyām's questionings (such as in nos. 5, 22, 31, 60, 70, 115, etc.) are close to this example from *Shāh-Nāma*:

جهانا چه بدمهر و بدگوهری   که خود پرورانی و خود بشکری

> O world! how cruel[66] is your affection, how bad your nature;
> for you raise up (man) yourself, and break him, too.

One does not find much logic in the world he laments. The ignorant are treated well, the wise poorly and unkindly. Unfairness and cruelty are witnessed everywhere. Whether living in unexplainable glory or unjustifiable misery, all must die.

Talk of death in Khayyām's poetry is mingled with the mention of grass and allusions to poets. Man dies, his body turns to dust, and a potter turns it into a pot. The idea reminds one of the Hindu concept of metempsychosis. However, Khayyāmese metempsychosis, simple and beautiful and without strangeness, is more delicate and poetic. From man's dust pots are made or new grass grows. (nos. 1, 15, 117, 164, 171, etc.). There is no allusion to pots in *Shāh-Nāma* but man is likened to grass and plants:

بیابان و آن مرد با تیز داس   تر و خشک را زو دل اندر هراس
تر و خشک یکسان همی بدرود   وگر لابه سازی سخن نشنود
دروگر زمان است و ما چون گیا   همانش نبیره همانش نیا

> It is a wilderness and that man (holds) a sharp sickle. The wet and the dry have his fear in their hearts. He reaps the wet and the dry alike. Should you make supplication he will not listen. The reaper is Time and we are like plants. As with the great-granddaughter, so with the ancestor.

To show the cruelty of the world Khayyām speaks of the death of monarchs and beautiful women (nos. 112, 159, 166, etc.) The same frequently occurs in *Shāh-Nāma*:

زمین گر گشاده کند راز خویش　　نماید سرانجام و آغاز خویش
کنارش پر از تاجداران بود　　برش پر ز خون سواران بود
پر از مرد دانا بود دامنش　　پر از خوبرخ چاک پیراهنش

> If the earth should reveal its secret, it will show its end and its beginning. Its side will be full of the wearers of crowns, its body covered with the blood of the riders. Its skirt will be full of wise men, the opening of its garment full of beautiful faces.[67]

Since this is the way of the world one must live a gay life. Since one must grow old, die, and turn to dust, since one never returns and cannot know what will become of him after death, why then not enjoy life now? Why not drink wine and forget sorrows? Its power enhances the beauty of nature and the company of the lovely women. It was dear to Firdausī and Khayyām, and to their forerunner Rūdakī.

The kings and heroes of *Shāh-Nāma* are well aware of the instability of the world. Bahrām-i Gūr is quite epicurean. When Gīv invites Rustam to fight with Suhrāb, Rustam holds a feast for three days and drinks heartily. Suhrāb, too, although he is much too young to know the sorrows of the world, says the night before the battle with Rustam:

کنون خوان و می باید آراستن　　بباید به می غم ز دل کاستن

> Now one must set the table and (bring) wine. With wine one must reduce the heart's sorrow.

Feasts accompany wars in *Shāh-Nāma*. For a hero who does not know whether he will return from the battlefield next day, it is natural to have the kind of attitude which was to find strong expression in Khayyām. As the shadow of death comes dangerously close to him, his thirst for the joys of life increases. Firdausī believes in eating, drinking, and spending one's life merrily and in the company of charming women:

اگر مرگ دارد چنین طبع گرگ   پر از می یکی جام خواهم بزرگ
یکی سرو قدی و سیمین بدن   دل آرا و خوشخوی و شیرین سخن

> If death has such a wolf(ish) nature, I want a big bowl full of wine; a (beloved with) a stature like cypress and a fair[68] body; heart-warming, good-natured, and sweet in her speech.

The themes of some of Khayyām's quatrains are very close to this (nos. 24, 39, 53, 76, 87, 118, 127, 160, 161, 162, etc.).

Ideas of predestination and the helplessness of man in the face of destiny, which are strongly present in *Shāh-Nāma*, are also frequently seen in Khayyām's poetry. In the world of *Shāh-Nāma* everything is controlled by destiny. What Khayyām says in rubā'ī no. 74 reminds one of this couplet by Firdausī:

نبشته به سر بر دگرگونه بود   ز فرمان نکاهد، نه هرگز فزود

> (Fate) has been written otherwise on the (fore) head. It will not decrease by command, nor has it ever increased.

Events of *Shāh-Nāma* are controlled by a playful Destiny. The fates of Iraj, Suhrāb, Furūd, Sīyāwush, and Isfandiyār are predestined and cannot be changed.

There are also differences between Khayyām and Firdausī. The latter is a man of faith. Although the fate of his heroes increases his pessimism, he still believes in an after life of divine rewards and punishments. His world is suspended between hope and despair. Khayyām, on the contrary, accepts man's death as the end of his existence. For him there is no world beyond this. His despair is greater and his tone more final. Firdausī has more common sense, is more humane, and is closer to the people. Khayyām is more intelligent and his awareness is acuter. Firdausī is more resigned to despair, Khayyām is scornful. Where Firdausī willingly joins the people, Khayyām is proud, and distant. Yet his remarks are gentle and his wit delicate. While Firdausī enjoys life with gusto, Khayyām can only try to tolerate it.

Dr. Islāmī writes that the fountainhead of Khayyāmese thought is to be found in *Shāh-Nāma* of Firdausī.[69] While there are considerable similarities between the works of the two poets, there are also many differences. It is more logical to conclude that if Khayyām admired *Shāh-Nāma* it was because he found its view of the world akin to his own. Khayyām had too independent a mind to write on things that he himself did not feel. His expressions of pain and bewilderment are too deeply felt to be based on other works. While he must have regarded *Shāh-Nāma* with considerable esteem and at times have received inspiration from it, his rubāʿīs are genuine expressions of his own feelings and reactions.

ʿUmar's epigrammatic and rich quatrains are timeless. The pain and wonder which they voice are such as many in every generation of mankind have experienced, and the agony of his soul reflects those of all sensitive and thinking individuals. His worries, his fears, his dark despairs are such as every man of perception must at times feel. It is not surprising if many later poets, moved by the sad reality of his poetry, have echoed his thoughts. Among these one can mention Saʿdī, Ḥāfiẓ, or ʿAṭṭār as examples. Each is worth full study. Briefly, Hedāyat, the well-known twentieth-century Persian writer, quotes the following examples. From Saʿdī he mentions:[70]

عجب نیست از خاک اگر گل شکفت   که چندین گل اندام در خاک خفت

It would be no surprise if the rose blossomed from the dust, for many rose-like bodies have been laid[71] in the dust.

سعدیا دی رفت و فردا همچنان موجود نیست   در میان این و آن فرصت شمار امروز را

O, Saʿdī, yesterday has gone and tomorrow, too, does not exist. Between this and that, take advantage of today.

Ḥāfiẓ says:

روزی که چرخ از گل ما کوزه‌ها کند   زنهار کاسهٔ سر ما پر شراب کن

On the day when the wheel (of fortune) shall make pots from our clay, beware filling the bowls of our heads with wine.

Ḥāfiẓ uses many complex images and figures of speech and his poems can be interpreted in many ways. His powers of vision and poetic imagination are much greater than those of Khayyām; however, he lacks Khayyām's philosophical perception and remarkable logic. Like Ṣūfis his wine is often associated with mysticism. All together, he lacks Khayyām's simplicity, boldness, and frankness. The Ṣūfistic and visionary elements of Ḥāfiẓ can be seen in this couplet:

ما در پیاله عکس رخ یار دیده‌ایم   ای بی‌خبر ز لذت شرب مدام ما

> We have seen the reflection[72] of the beloved's face in the cup,
> O, (thou who are) unaware of the delight of our constant drinking.

Even Ṣūfi poets have immitated Khayyām. Aṭṭār says:

گر چو رستم شوکت و زورت بود   جای چون بهرام در گورت بود

> (Even) if thine should be glory and power like Rustam, like Bahrām thy place will be in the grave.

Khayyām's rubāʿīyāt have had a great appeal to all generations. The statements of some western scholars about his being ignored in Persia are incorrect. The hedonistic interpretation of ʿUmar's rubāʿīyāt, too, is possible only if the more profound aspects of his themes and thoughts are not realized.

The Manuscripts

More than a thousand rubā'is have been attributed to 'Umar Khayyām. These appear in various manuscripts, and not only is the authenticity of some of the recently discovered ones questioned but also the more reliable and established ones are found to contain numerous spurious quatrains. However, patient and continuous researches over the past several decades and a careful examination of the ancient works have resulted in authentication of a significant, although small, number of 'Umar's rubā'is. These have provided the admirers of Khayyām with a good idea of his thought and style.

The collection of M.A. Furūghī and Q. Ghanī, published in 1320/1942, contained two rubā'is from *Mirṣād al-'Ibād* (620/1233), the oldest source known then. Only seven years later, in 1949, was the text of the *Sindbād-Nāma* (556/1161) published in Istanbul by A. Ātesh verifying the genuineness of five more rubā'is. *Sindbād-Nāma* brought scholars sixty-four years closer to 'Umar Khayyām's lifetime (d. 509/1115? or 517/1123? or 526/1132?). Written less than half a century after his death, it has renewed the hope that other valuable ancient sources may be found in the hitherto little-explored libraries of Asia.

A chronological list of the most ancient and reliable works that contain some of the rubā'iyāt of 'Umar Khayyām follows (the first seven of these, mentioned in detail in a discussion of the key rubā'is in chapter 3 are given briefly here to provide a complete list):

1. *Sindbād-Nāma* (556/1161), five quatrains.
2. *Al-Tanbīh 'alā Ba'ḍi Asrār al-Muda'a fī Ba'ḍi Suwar al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*, by Imām Fakhr-i Rāzī. (d. 606/1209), one quatrain.

3. *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād* (618-20/1221-23), by Shaikh Najm al-Dīn Dāya, two quatrains.
4. *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* (658/1260), by Juwainī, one quatrain.
5. *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* (730/1330), by Ḥamdallāh Mustaufī, one quatrain.
6. *Nuzhat al-Majālis* (731/1331), published by Rempis, thirty-three quatrains, two of which have been repeated, leaving thirty-one in all.
7. *Mūnis al-Aḥrār* (740/1340),[73] written by a known Persian poet, Muḥammad b. Badr-i Jājarmī, thirteen quatrains.
8. A collection in the Library of The Majlis, Tehran, (750/1349) discovered by S. Nafīsī, eleven quatrains.
9. Another collection in the same Library (undated), discovered by Q. Ghanī, five quatrains.

There are also other known manuscripts and collections containing more quatrains and belonging to later dates. But the number of the spurious quatrains in the later works is higher. One of the largest of these is *Ṭarab-Khāna*, a collection of 559 rubāʿīs compiled by Yār Aḥmad b. Ḥusain-i Rashīdī-yi Tabrīzī in 867/1462-63 and recently edited by Professor Humāʾī. Some of these manuscripts have been translated into English. In 1898 Heron-Allen translated one of the best known manuscripts, Ouseley 140 of the Bodleian Library, written in 865/1460-61 and containing 158 rubāʿīs. In 1930 Dr. Rosen translated another manuscript discovered in Berlin and bearing the false date of 721/1321 (scholars believe it was written about A.D. 1500). It contains 329 rubāʿīs. At the same time Rosen translated the thirteen rubāʿīs which are in *Mūnis al-Aḥrār* (740/1340, mentioned above under no. 7).

The eagerness of students of ʿUmar Khayyām's poetical heritage to find additional ancient manuscripts has in recent years provided an excellent market for forgers, who have produced and sold spurious manuscripts for considerable sums of money. Between 1947 and 1952 three manuscripts of ʿUmar Khayyām appeared in rapid succession. These were dated 604/1208 (252 rubāʿīs), 613/1216

(247 rubāʿīs), and 658/1259 (172 rubāʿīs). It was then hoped that these seemingly ancient and quite large collections might at last remove all doubts about ʿUmar's poetry. In 1947 the one with a colophon dated 658/1260 was acquired by A. Chester Beatty. This together with an English prose translation was published in 1949 by Professor A. J. Arberry. Shortly before, a still more ancient one dated 604/1208 was reported found. Suddenly in 1950 the manuscript appeared in England and was purchased by the Cambridge University Library. Again, two years later, Arberry published a poetical English translation of all of the quatrains of this latter one. Its Persian text was reproduced in Rome by M. Pierre Pascal in 1958. The third of this group of manuscripts dated 615/1216 appeared in the United States. Accepting the invitation of Arthur Upham Pope, the New York specialist in Persian Art, Arberry studied it, but as Professor Vladimir Minorsky writes: "certain complications ... came to light in the course of the inspection of this third one."[74] Professors Mujtabā Mīnūvī in *Rāh-namā-yi Ketāb* and Jalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī in his introduction to *Ṭarab-Khāna-yi Rubāʿiyāt-i Ḥakīm Khayyām-i Nīshābūrī* concluded these to be forgeries. The strange interdependence of the contents of these three newly discovered collections was the subject of a careful article by Professor Minorsky,[75] in which he, too, supported the opinion of Mīnūvī and Humāʾī.

Mention must also be made of another forgery, a manuscript said to be in the possession of an Afghan army officer, Omar ʿAlī-Shāh, and reportedly containing 111 rubāʿīs rendered into English verse by Robert Graves in 1967. This strange manuscript (claimed to be dated 548/1153, only thirty years or less after Khayyām's death) has been guarded with an amazing care and hitherto no scholar has been granted the privilege of examining it. This great caution in hiding such a treasure arouses suspicion. It appears that ʿAlī-Shāh, whose sincerity is not questioned, and the equally sincere Robert Graves were victims of a clever forger. In an article called "The Omar Khayyam Puzzle," L. P. Elwell-Sutton concludes that ʿAlī-Shāh's manuscript is a very close duplication of Edward Heron-

Allen's book (published in 1899) "containing the results of his attempt to collate FitzGerald's verses with their originals in the Bodleian and Calcutta manuscripts."[76] The recent entry of doubtful and counterfeit manuscripts into the market need not dishearten admirers of 'Umar Khayyām. The possibility that genuinely ancient and hitherto unexplored sources of additional rubā'īs may be found is quite strong, and the discovery of *Sindbād-Nāma* is a case in point.

Once introduced to the western world, 'Umar Khayyām won innumerable admirers and became the object of extensive scholarly research and dedicated efforts of translators. Indeed, he has accumulated a colossal bibliography comparable to those of major poets of the West. Potter's bibliography, published in 1929, was an indication of the great amount of work that had been done on Khayyām until then.[77] Since the publication of this impressive bibliography, interest has grown apace. Scholars have tried to locate Khayyām's manuscripts, examine their authenticity, separate the genuine rubā'īs from the spurious ones, and comment on what is thought to have been written by him. These studies follow great early contributions by Professor Zhukowsky of Russia, Professor Arthur Christensen of Denmark, and Dr. Friedrich Rosen of Germany.

In an attempt to determine the authenticity of 'Umar's rubā'īyāt, Zhukowsky's article, "'Omar Khayyam and the Wandering Quatrains," published in 1897 in the *Festschrift* to Professor Baron V. Rosen entitled *al-Mudhaffariyya*, opened a new field of studies: of 464 rubā'īs attributed to 'Umar in the edition (Paris, 1867) of J. B. Nicolas, 'Umar's French editor, Zhukowsky located some eighty-two quatrains in the works of no less than thirty-nine other Persian poets—a number that has since been added to by other scholars, though not appreciably. This remarkable article was later translated into English and republished in 1898 in an abridgment by Sir E. D. Ross in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, where it became more widely available. Zhukowsky's contribution in this first step is significant. However, the fact that a rubā'ī

attributed to ʿUmar was also found in the collection of another poet does not necessarily mean that it is not ʿUmar's. It only makes the authorship of that particular rubāʿī open to question.[78]

After examining nearly a thousand rubāʿīs contained in various manuscripts and lithographed editions, Dr. Rosen concluded that only twenty-three of them could be considered genuine, although ʿUmar Khayyām was probably the author of more of them. Among these twenty-three are six quatrains which Rosen considered genuine because they contain the name of Khayyām (at the same time he rejected another six quatrains in which Khayyām's name occurs). The form and content of these quatrains, too, were also taken into consideration. While some of these rubāʿīs are addressed to Khayyām, others quote him. Moreover, Khayyām's name was probably interpolated more frequently than Dr. Rosen admitted. There is another point: as Furūghī writes, ʿUmar was probably not known as Khayyām during his lifetime. This was his father's title and in all the writings that have reached us from that period the word Khayyām or Khayyāmī was used after his father's name, which was Ibrāhīm, or else he was called Ibn-i Khayyām.[79]

In an attempt to establish the genuineness of some of ʿUmar's rubāʿiyāt, Professor Christensen made a comparative study of a number of more reliable collections. Assuming that various manuscripts are based on an ancient common source and adopting a particular statistical pattern he accepted as genuine those quatrains that appear in many texts. Thus frequency of occurrence was his basis for accepting or rejecting a rubāʿī. He also took into consideration the theme and form of these quatrains. As a result, while in 1904 he had accepted only twelve rubāʿīs as authentic, in 1927 he came to accept 121 quatrains (out of 1,231 that were attributed to ʿUmar) as being genuine, and published these noting their various readings in all the texts that were at his disposal. Nonetheless he admitted that some of these could still be spurious, while some genuine rubāʿīs had probably been left out.

Among recent contributions the works of a number of Persian

scholars and writers are of particular value. Among these are Ṣādeq Hedāyat, M. A. Furūghī and Dr. Ghanī, and ʿAlī Dashtī. In his *Tarāna-hā-yi Khayyām*, published in 1313/1934, the well-known Persian short-story writer and essayist, Hedāyat, wrote with his characteristically youthful enthusiasm that

> If we turn the leaves of one of these copies [of the anthologies] of rubāʿiyāt ... we will encounter contradictory thoughts, varying themes, and old and new subjects, so much so that a person who should have lived a hundred years and changed his religion, belief, and course [of thought] twice a day could not have pronounced such thoughts."[80]

To determine the genuineness of Khayyām's rubāʿiyāt Hedāyat adopted two methods. The first was to try to learn something about the personality of the poet from the accounts written by Khayyām's contemporaries or those who lived shortly after him, realizing at the same time that such references and descriptions were scarce. Then he accepted as genuine the thirteen quatrains of *Mūnis al-Aḥrār* and the two mentioned in *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād* (one of which also appears in *Mūnis al- Aḥrār*). These were the oldest copies known to Hedāyat during his short lifetime. Having briefly familiarized himself with the personality of Khayyām as portrayed in the ancient works, he then adopted these fourteen quatrains as indications of ʿUmar's thought and style and used them as measures for determining the authenticity of the other quatrains attributed to him. The result was a collection of 143 rubāʿis which he considered more likely Khayyām's than others. He indicated his doubt about thirty-six of these, thinking that they could have been written by followers of ʿUmar. Hedāyat's life was too short to permit more work in this area.

The late savant M. A. Furūghī and Dr. Ghanī published their outstanding collection in Tehran in 1320/1942. Their method of selection was basically a greatly improved variation upon the second of the two methods proposed by Hedāyat. First they eliminated all the rubāʿis definitely known to have been by others. Then they

established sixty-six quatrains from the most ancient and reliable works as examples of the spirit, the thought, and the style of ʿUmar Khayyām's rubaʿiyāt. These carefully selected quatrains were gathered from *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād*, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā*, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, *Nuzhat al-Majālis*, *Mūnis al-Aḥrār*, an anthology found by S. Nafīsī in the library of the Majlis, and from another collection found by Q. Ghanī in the same library. *Sindbād-Nāma* had not yet been discovered. Using this sifted collection of sixty-six rubaʿis as a measure Furūghī and Ghanī accepted any other quatrain that showed considerable harmony with them and rejected all the rest, well aware of the fact that many compilers of the ancient manuscripts had been careless and sometimes ignorant scribes who at times had acted both as transcribers and editors. Some of the quatrains they had selected because they pleased them; others were believed appropriate on the ground of their pious or mystic contents; and still others were added to increase the length of the manuscript. Among these only some were ʿUmar's. Of many rubaʿis attributed to ʿUmar, Furūghī's collection contains 178 quatrains. Yet Furūghī quite appropriately concluded the introduction to his collection with these words of caution:

> These rubaʿis that we have chosen ... we do not claim to be definitely and certainly Khayyām's, nor that Khayyām's rubaʿiyāt are limited to these which we have compiled. In our opinion these are consistent with the words of the philosopher of Nīshābūr, and could be his and are worthy. But the true judge in this matter has been our taste.

In 1345/1966 ʿAlī Dashtī, the Persian writer and literary critic, published *Damī bā Khayyām*, in which of the many quatrains ascribed to Khayyām he accepted only 81 as authentic, a number which he reduced to 75 in his second edition, published in 1348/1969. His methods of selection were based on the same two principles originally proposed by Hedāyat. Dashtī tried to acquaint himself with the personality and character of ʿUmar by reading what his contemporaries and those who lived shortly after him wrote about him,

realizing at the same time that these sources were limited. He also studied Khayyām's philosophical treatises ('Umar's scientific treatises cannot help here) in the light of the political, social and religious circumstances under which they were written. Then he collected a group of so-called key rubā'īs from reliable ancient sources and used them as a measure for evaluating other rubā'īs attributed to Khayyām. The result is a very valuable scholarly work. Nonetheless, as tentatively as others he writes: "[I] myself do not know to what extent I have been successful in this respect."[81]

In recent decades the most significant contributions to the solution of the problem of methods of selection have come from Persian scholars and researchers. While the areas of strength of the approaches of Hedāyat, Furūghī, and Dashtī are clear, one point cannot be overlooked, and that is the fact that Khayyām may have written some of those rubā'īs that have been so far rejected on the ground that they are inconsistent with the accepted quatrains. One may feel and think differently at different times and under different circumstances, and 'Umar Khayyām, too, need not have been an exception.

ʿUmar Khayyām and His Translators

The universal recognition and admiration surrounding ʿUmar Khayyām has been such as few poets have enjoyed. His rubāʿiyāt show a nobility of spirit which only a soul as sensitive as his could have possessed. The charm and warmth of his personality are clearly reflected in his short, gentle, lively, and epigrammatic quatrains. These indicate also the great independence of his mind, one which could not be enchained.

The English-speaking world came to know these quatrains through FitzGerald's translation. The rendering of the Rubāʿiyāt, a delightful and striking succession of grave and merry thoughts, into something of a unified literary work was FitzGerald's own idea.[82] In the process, as he himself had told Cowell, his wonderful teacher of Persian, many quatrains were "mashed together" and "something [was] lost . . . of Omar's Simplicity which is so much a Virtue in him." FitzGerald's translation, in itself a masterpiece of English poetry, is extremely polished. In spite of this, and though his is not a literal translation, FitzGerald's work shows how thoroughly he captured the spirit of ʿUmar Khayyām. The account of FitzGerald's attempt is the subject of Professor Arberry's admirable book *The Romance of the Rubāiyāt*, in which he greatly improved upon the work of the pioneer Edward Heron-Allen.

The charm and beauty of ʿUmar Khayyām are such that after FitzGerald many other poets and writers dedicated their time and effort to produce new verse or prose translations. Many of these are worthwhile contributions, whether great or small. All the verse translations, however, have fallen far below that of FitzGerald's.

Prose translations form a separate class of literary attempts. It is true that prose works do not have the advantages of rhythm and music which characterize good poetry, but instead they can come nearer to the meaning of the original. The prose translation made by Justin H. McCarthy in 1896, in spite of some very basic weaknesses, is preferable to the others done since. Better than other prose translators, he captured the spirit of ʿUmar's rubāʿiyāt; and this is exactly what is missing in the literal translations of Professor Christensen and Dr. Rosen and the later translation of Professor Arberry of the doubtful Chester Beatty manuscript. These translations are also completely deviant from the point of view of style. It is interesting to notice that while FitzGerald was ʿUmar's first English verse translator, McCarthy was his first English prose translator. Other English prose translations since his are sadly deficient from another major point of view, that of tone. They strike one as very unemotional and completely fail to recreate the effect of their originals. McCarthy's, though "no hard and fast literal translation," as he himself wrote in his introduction, was noteworthy in that not only did he give "the meaning" of the original fairly well, but, to some extent, he came nearer to the style of ʿUmar, to his charm, to his simplicity and beauty, and to his gentleness. However, the fact remains that it is not a literal translation and his collection contains many spurious quatrains.

The translation presented here is the first English prose translation produced by a Persian, and as such, it might be of interest to the English reader. I have hoped, and this in a spirit of utter humility, that a common cultural background with ʿUmar Khayyām, though there is a lapse of eight centuries, may enable a Persian translator, a native of ʿUmar's land, to better capture the spirit, tone, and style of the *Rubāʿiyāt* as well as their abundant and subtle overtones.

The Persian text chosen for this translation is the one of Furūghī and Ghanī, who together, after having carefully examined all that was available in the libraries of Iran, as well as in other parts of the world (especially the rich libraries of Istanbul and the libraries of the

West), compiled a collection of 178 rubāʿiyāt. Persian as well as foreign scholars consider the collection to be outstanding. The arrangement of the rubāʿiyāt in their text is double-alphabetical; that is, they are grouped and arranged according to the final letter of the rhyme, and within each group according to the first letter of the first word of the quatrain.

The characteristics of this translation and its differences from other translations are too numerous to cover here. It is a literal translation in which in addition to accuracy and fidelity, I have tried to capture the spirit of ʿUmar's poetry as well as come nearer to his style and tone and all of which I consider to be of utmost importance. Needless to say, the melody and music of the Persian rubāʿiyāt cannot be recreated in a literal English prose translation. In any translation some of the subtle verbal suggestions and associations are inevitably lost. Consequently the degree of success is relative, not absolute. It is the translator's deep knowledge of both languages, his skill, and his sensitivity to allusions and overtones which can minimize this loss.

Special attention has also been paid to the translation of idiomatic expressions within the rubāʿiyāt. These have created sad confusions for the unwary translator. I have also felt it appropriate for three quatrains to give more than one translation.[83] The present translation also gives varying readings of four extremely beautiful quatrains, in which the words *sālikān*[84] (meaning "mystics") and *khammār*[85] (meaning "wine-seller") occur. *Sālikān* is often misread as *sāligān* (derived from *sāl*, "year") and paraphrased wrongly by virtually all the translators whose works I have seen, with the exception of Dr. Rosen, who read it correctly but with the first meaning of the word as given in Steingass's Persian-English dictionary, that is "traveller," he overlooked other connotations of the word. Yet his uncertainty led him also to include the word "year" in that same line. In addition, *khammār*, meaning "wine-seller," is misread by everybody as *khumār*, meaning "tipsy"—and this in spite of the meter,

and *tashdīd*. These are only a few examples of the many differences between this translation and others.

The reader will also notice that in my rendering of the rubā'īyāt into English prose a number of words appear in parentheses. These words do not actually occur in the Persian text. However, they are strongly implied. Many such words merely reflect the characteristic differences of the two languages. The absence of others from the Persian text is primarily due to the necessities of the form, that of poetry versus prose. It was essential to include these to provide the coherence, clarity, and fluency that was vital for the rendering of the rubā'īyāt into English prose. I have used parentheses instead of brackets to separate such words from the text since they are not really insertions or additions.

Wherever necessary footnotes have been provided giving such information about Persian culture and history as might enable the English reader better to understand and appreciate the poetry. The text contains references, for each quatrain, to parallel quatrains in the Persian collections of Hedāyat and Dashtī as well as parallel translations by FitzGerald (first edition) and six other verse and prose translators. These references appear on each page and are given in chronological order.

PARICHEHR KASRA

NOTES

[1] C.E. Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (A.D. 1000-1217)," in *The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1968), 5:16.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[9] Ann K. S. Lambton, "The Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 5: 204.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

[14] Zabīḥallāh Ṣafā, *Tārikh-i Adabiyāt dar Irān* (Tehran, 1338/1959), 2: 98.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

[16] Bosworth, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 5: 72.

[17] Lambton, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 5: 255.

[18] Ṣafā, *Tārikh-i Adabiyāt dar Irān*, 2: 147.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[21] A. Bausani, "Religion in the Saljuq Period," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 5: 289.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[25] Ṣafā, *Tārikh-i Adabiyāt dar Irān*, 2:194.

[26] Bausani, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 5: 295-96.

[27] M.G.S. Hodgson, "The Ismā'īlī State," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 5:433.

[28] Bausani, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 5: 297.

[29] Ibn al Jauzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, quoted in Ṣafā, *Tārikh-i Adabiyāt dar Irān*, 2: 224-25.

[30] Bausani, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 5: 300.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Quoted in: Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyāt dar Irān*, 2: 221-22.

[33] J. Rypka, "Poets and Prose Writers of the Late Saljuq and Mongol Periods," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 5:550.

[34] Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyāt dar Irān*, 2: 366.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 335.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 353-54.

[38] Rypka, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 5: 553.

[39] Rypka attributes this to Amānī. *Ibid.*

[40] Michael Craig Hillmann, "The Persian Rubā'ī: Common Sense in Analysis," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 119, no. 1 (1969): 100.

[41] Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge, 1956), 2: 34-35.

[42] Mujtabā Mīnūvī, "Gul-i-Surkh-i Nīshābūr," *Pānzdah Guftār* (Tehran, 1333/1954), pp. 320-21.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

[44] Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyāt dar Irān*, 2: 523.

[45] Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī, *Chahār Maqāla*, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, rev. ed. by Muḥammad Mu'īn (Tehran 1333/1954), p. 300-301. See also E.S. Kennedy, "The Exact Sciences in Iran under the Saljuqs and Mongols," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 5: 674.

[46] Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī, *Chahār Maqāla*, pp. 301-303.

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 296-300.

[48] Quoted in 'Alī Dashtī, *Damī bā Khayyām*, 2d ed. (Tehran, 1348/1969), p. 21.

[49] M. A. Furūghī and Q. Ghanī, *Rubā'iyāt-i Ḥakīm Khayyām-i Nīshābūrī* (Tehran, 1320/1942). All subsequent numbering of the rubā'īs will be to this collection.

[50] Dashtī, *Damī bā Khayyām*, p. 32.

[51] [Edward FitzGerald, trans.], *Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām, The Astronomer-Poet of Persia*, 1st ed. (London, 1859); reprint. (London: Percy Lund, Humphries and Co. 1927), pp. iv-vi.

[52] Dashtī, *Damī bā Khayyām*, p. 98.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[55] More literally, the *self* which is endowed with the power of speech.

[56] Literally, faces.

[57] Dashtī, *Damī bā Khayyām*, p. 109.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] Muḥammad 'Alī Islāmī Nadushan, "Khayyām wa Firdausī," *Yaghmā*, 215 (Khurdād 1345/1966): 113-24; 216 (Tīr 1345/1966): 169-79; and 217 (Murdād 1345/1966): 225-33. For this comparison between Khayyām and Firdausī I have heavily drawn upon Dr. Islāmī's article and have amplified parts that are related to Khayyām. See also Firdawsī, *Suhrāb and Rustam: A Poem from the Shāh Nāmah of*

Firdausi, trans. James Atkinson (Calcutta: Hindoostanee Press, 1814; reprint. Delmar, N. Y.: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1972).

[62] Islāmī, "Khayyām wa Firdausī," *Yaghmā*, 215 (Khurdād 1345/1966): 115.

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[65] Literally, house.

[66] Literally, bad.

[67] Literally, good faces.

[68] Literally, silvery.

[69] Islāmī, "Khayyām wa Firdausī," *Yaghmā*, 217 (Murdād 1345/1966): 231.

[70] Ṣādeq Hedāyat, *Tarāna-hā-yi Khayyām* (Tehran, 1313/1934), p. 55.

[71] Literally, slept.

[72] Literally, picture.

[73] Furūghī's date for this book is 741 rather than 740. *Rubā'iyāt-i Ḥakīm Khayyām-i Nīshābūrī*, p. 44.

[74] Vladimir Minorsky, "The Earliest Collections of O. Khayyam," *Yādnāma-ye Jan Rypka* (The Hague and Paris, 1967), p. 109.

[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 107-118.

[76] L. P. Elwell-Sutton, "The Omar Khayyam Puzzle," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 55 (June 1968): 176.

[77] Ambrose George Potter, *A Bibliography of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* (London, 1929).

[78] Furūghī and Ghanī, *Rubā'iyāt-i Ḥakīm Khayyām-i Nīshābūrī*, p. 26.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[80] Hedāyat, *Tarāna-hā-yi Khayyām*, p. 9.

[81] Dashtī, *Damī bā Khayyām*, p. 30.

[82] Both Persian and Arab poets, as previously mentioned, had produced chains of related rubā'is long before FitzGerald wrote his translation.

[83] Rubā'is nos. 58, 66, 106.

[84] Rubā'i no. 121.

[85] Rubā'is nos. 105, 159, 167.

برخیز بتا بیا ز بهر دل ما
حل کن بجمال خویشتن مشکل ما

یک کوزه شراب تا بهم نوش کنیم
زان پیش که کوزه‌ها کنند از گل ما

1. Rise, O beloved, and end our troubles[1] with your beauty. And for the sake of our hearts bring a jar of wine so we may drink together, before they make many jars from our clay.

Persian texts: Furūghī 1, Dashtī 36
Verse translations: Whinfield 5
Prose translations: McCarthy 7

[1] Literally, dissolve our difficulties.

چون عهده نمی شود کسی فردا را   حالی خوش دار این دل پر سودا را

می نوش بماهتاب ای ماه که ماه   بسیار بتابد و نیابد ما را

2. Since no one will be responsible for tomorrow, cheer up now this heart which is full of melancholy. Drink wine in moonlight, O Moon[1], for (heaven's) moon will shine often and will not find us.

Persian texts: Furūghī 2, Hedāyat 112, Dashtī 63
Verse translations: FitzGerald 74, Whinfield 7
Prose translations: McCarthy 9, Heron-Allen 5, Rosen 2, Christensen 50

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[1] Persians think of the moon as a beautiful object. Hence, to give a compliment to a beautiful woman, they call her the "moon."

قرآن که مهین کلام خوانند آنرا — گه گاه نه بر دوام خوانند آنرا

بر گرد پیاله آیتی هست مقیم — کاندر همه جا مدام خوانند آنرا

3. The Qur'ān[1], which is called the Holy Word, is read from time to time and not always. (But) around the cup there dwells a verse which is read constantly[2] everywhere.

Persian texts: Furūghī 3
Verse translations: Whinfield 10
Prose translations: McCarthy 24, Heron-Allen 6, Rosen 4, Christensen 41

[1] The Muslim Scriptures.

[2] This rubā'ī contains a charming pun: *mudām* means "constantly", or "continually," as well as "wine," especially if drunk all day long, as opposed to the morning draught, or evening cup.

گر می نخوری طعنه مزن مستان را — بنیاد مکن تو حیله و دستان را
تو غره بدان مشو که می نخوری — صد لقمه خوری که می غلام است آن را

4. If thou art not a wine bibber, be not sarcastic to the tipplers. And buildest thou not on tricks and slyness. Be thou not proud that thou drinkest no wine. Thou eatest a hundred morsels to which wine is (only) a slave.[1]

Persian texts: Furūghī 4
Verse translations: Whinfield 11
Prose translations: McCarthy 25, Rosen 1, Christensen 74, Arberry CB/141

[1] Compared to these other morsels wine is, indeed, nothing.

هرچند که رنگ و بوی زیباست مرا — چون لاله رخ و چو سرو بالاست مرا

معلوم نشد که در طربخانهٔ خاک — نقاش ازل بهر چه آراست مرا

5. Though I am of a beautiful complexion and a (sweet) scent, and I have cheeks like a tulip and a figure like the cypress-tree, yet it is not clear that in this House of Mirth of the Earth for what purpose the Painter of Eternity adorned me.

Persian texts: Furūghī 5, Hedāyat 1, Dashtī 24
Verse translations: Whinfield 12
Prose translations: McCarthy 26, Rosen 6

مائیم و می و مطرب و این کنج خراب　　جان و دل و جام و جامه پر درد شراب

فارغ ز امید رحمت و بیم عذاب　　آزاد ز خاک و باد و از آتش و آب

6. (Yea, here) are we, wine and minstrel in this ruined corner; and the soul, the heart, the cup, and the garment (all are) filled with the tartar of wine. Free are we from hope of Mercy and fear of Punishment; free from earth, wind, fire, and water.[1]

Persian texts: Furūghī 6
Verse translations: Whinfield 22
Prose translations: McCarthy 45, Heron-Allen 7, Rosen 8, Christensen 66

[1] According to the ancient beliefs the world was made of four elements: earth, water, air (wind), and fire.

آن قصر که جمشید درو جام گرفت   آهو بچه کرد و روبه آرام گرفت
بهرام که گور میگرفتی همه عمر   دیدی که چگونه گور بهرام گرفت

7. In that palace, where Jamsheed held his bowl,[1] the gazelle later gave birth to young and the fox rested. Did you see how Bahrām,[2] who caught wild asses all his life, was caught himself by the tomb?

Persian texts: Furūghī 7, Hedāyat 54
Verse translations: FitzGerald 17, Whinfield 72
Prose translations: McCarthy 151, Rosen 13, Christensen 44

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[1] It is said that wine was first made during the reign of Jamsheed, of the Pishdādiyān Dynasty. He is also credited with having had a peculiar bowl in which the whole world could be seen. See also n. 2 of Rubā'ī 17.

[2] Bahrām, of the Sāsāniyān Dynasty, was very fond of hunting *gūr*, wild asses. It is said that he was lost while hunting a wild ass and was not found again.

ابر آمد و باز بر سر سبزه گریست   بی باده گلرنگ نمی باید زیست
این سبزه که امروز تماشاگه ماست   تا سبزهٔ خاک ما تماشاگه کیست

8. The cloud came and wept again over the green grass. One should not live without crimson wine. This grass which we behold with pleasure today—(ah), who will behold the grass that shall spring from our dust?

Persian texts: Furūghī 8, Hedāyat 61
Verse translations: FitzGerald 22, Whinfield 75
Prose translations: McCarthy 156, Rosen 9, Christensen 89, Arberry CB/161

اکنون که گل سعادتت پربار است   دست تو ز جام می چرا بیکار است

می خور که زمانه دشمنی غدار است   دریافتن روز چنین دشوار است

9. Now that the rose of your fortune is profuse, why is your hand not busy with the bowl of wine? Drink wine, for time is a treacherous enemy, and it is hard to find a day like this (again).

Persian texts: Furūghī 9
Verse translations: Whinfield 71
Prose translations: McCarthy 149

امروز ترا دسترس فردا نیست — واندیشهٔ فردات بجز سودا نیست

ضایع مکن این دم ار دلت شیدا نیست — کاین باقی عمر را بها پیدا نیست

10. Tomorrow is not within your reach today, and your thought of it is nothing but melancholy. Spoil not this moment if your heart be not mad; for the price of the rest of life is not clear.

Persian texts: Furūghī 10, Hedāyat 135, Dashtī 56
Verse translations: Whinfield 30
Prose translations: McCarthy 76, Heron-Allen 12, Rosen 14, Christensen 62, Arberry CB/32

ای آمده از عالم روحانی تفت حیران شده در پنج و چهار و شش و هفت
می خور چو ندانی از کجا آمده‌ای خوش باش ندانی بکجا خواهی رفت

11. O thou who hast come from the spiritual world with zeal and haste, and hast become bewildered by five and four and six and seven![1] Drink wine, for thou knowest not whence thou hast come. Be merry, for thou knowest not whither thou wilt go.

Persian texts: Furūghī 11
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen 15

[1] Five senses, four elements (earth, water, air, and fire), six directions, and seven planets.

ای چرخ فلک خرابی از کینهٔ تست — بیدادگری شیوهٔ دیرینهٔ تست

ای خاک اگر سینهٔ تو بشکافند — بس گوهر قیمتی که در سینهٔ تست

12. O, wheel of heaven, destruction is out of your spite, tyranny is your ancient habit. O, earth, should they open your bosom, many precious gems[1] (will they find) in it.

Persian texts: Furūghī 12, Hedāyat 59
Verse translations: Whinfield 25
Prose translations: McCarthy 29, Rosen 18, Christensen 78

[1] A reference to the precious stones as well as the gem-like men and women that are buried in the bosom of the earth.

ای دل چو زمانه میکند غمناکت ناگه برود ز تن روان پاکت

بر سبزه نشین و خوش بزی روزی چند زان پیش که سبزه بردمد از خاکت

13. O, heart, since Time will make thee sorrowful, since thy pure soul will suddenly leave thy body, sit down then in the grass-field and live happily a few days, ere grasses spring from thy dust.

Persian texts: Furūghī 13
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 57

این بحر وجود آمده بیرون ز نهفت   کس نیست که این گوهر تحقیق بسفت

هر کس سخنی از سر سودا گفتند   زان روی که هست کس نمی‌داند گفت

14. This sea of existence has come out of the unknown. There is no one who can pierce this pearl of knowledge.[1] Every one has said something based on (vain) imagination. No one can tell it as it is.

Persian texts: Furūghī 14, Hedāyat 8, Dashtī 2
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen IX

[1] Literally, pearl of inquiry. If this pearl could be pierced, then it could be added to the string of knowledge.

این کوزه چو من عاشق زاری بوده است — در بند سر زلف نگاری بوده است

این دسته که بر گردن او می بینی — دستی است که بر گردن یاری بوده است

15. This jug has been a lean lover like me who has been fettered by the tresses of a sweetheart. This handle, that you see on its neck, is a hand which has been on the neck of a beloved one.

Persian texts: Furūghī 15, Hedāyat 72, Dashtī 44
Verse translations: FitzGerald 35, Whinfield 32
Prose translations: McCarthy 73, Heron-Allen 9, Rosen 20, Christensen 38

این کوزه که آبخوارهٔ مزدوریست — از دیدهٔ شاهیست و دل دستوریست
هر کاسهٔ می که بر کف مخموریست — از عارض مستی و لب مستوریست

16. This jar which is the drinking vessel of a hireling is from the eyes of a king and the heart of a minister.[1] Every bowl of wine which is on the palm of a tipsy man is from the cheeks of a drunkard and the lips of a veiled (beauty).

Persian texts: Furūghī 16
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

[1] A prime minister or vizier and not a clergyman.

این کهنه رباط را که عالم نام است　　و آرامگه ابلق صبح و شام است
بزمیست که وامانده صد جمشید است　　قصریست که تکیه‌گاه صد بهرام است

17. This old caravanserai which is called the world, and is the resting-place of the piebald (horse)[1] of morning and evening, is a feast left over by a hundred Jamsheeds,[2] is a castle which is the reposing place of a hundred Bahrāms.[3]

Persian texts: Furūghī 17, Hedāyat 55, Dashtī 28
Verse translations: FitzGerald 16, Whinfield 70
Prose translations: McCarthy 140, Rosen 21, Arberry CB/17

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[1] The Persian poets have often compared night and day to a black and white horse.

[2] It is said that Jamsheed established the festival of Nawrūz (New Year's Day in Persia, which betokens the arrival of Spring).

[3] Several kings of Persia were named Bahrām.

این یک دو سه روزه نوبت عمر گذشت
چون آب بجویبار و چون باد بدشت

هرگز غم دو روز مرا یاد نگشت
روزی که نیامدست و روزی که گذشت

18. These two or three days of (my) turn at life passed like water in a brook and wind on a plain. The sorrow of two days never came to my mind: the day that has not come and the day that has passed.

Persian texts: Furūghī 18
Verse translations: FitzGerald 57, Whinfield 26
Prose translations: McCarthy 51, Heron-Allen 20, Christensen 37

برچهرهٔ گل نسیم نوروز خوشست　　در صحن چمن روی دل افروز خوشست
از دی که گذشت هرچه گویی خوش نیست　　خوش باش و ز دی مگو که امروز خوشست

19. Upon the cheeks of the rose the breeze of Nawrūz is delightful. On the meadow the face of the one who brightens the heart is delightful. Of yesterday that has passed whatever you say is not well. Be merry and speak not of yesterday, for today is delightful.

Persian texts: Furūghī 19, Hedāyat 120
Verse translations: Whinfield 112
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 17, Rosen 25, Christensen 23, Arberry CB/28

پیش از من و تو لیل و نهاری بودست   گردنده فلک نیز بکاری بودست
هر جا که قدم نهی تو بر روی زمین   آن مردمک چشم نگاری بودست

20. Before me and thee there has been night and day. And the revolving heaven, too, has been busy with something. Wherever thou treadest upon the earth has been the pupil of some beauty's eye.

Persian texts: Furūghī 20
Verse translations: Whinfield 33
Prose translations: McCarthy 75, Rosen 28, Christensen 86, Arberry CB/121

تا چند زنم بروی دریاها خشت   بیزار شدم ز بت‌پرستان کنشت

خیام که گفت دوزخی خواهد بود   که رفت بدوزخ و که آمد ز بهشت

21. How long should I lay bricks on the seas? I am disgusted with the idolaters of the temple. Who said Khayyām will dwell in hell? Who has (ever) gone to hell and who has come from paradise?

Persian texts: Furūghī 21, Hedāyat 6
Verse translations: Whinfield 111
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 18, Rosen 29, Christensen 64

ترکیب پیاله که درهم پیوست — بشکستن آن روا نمیدارد مست

چندین سر و پای نازنین از سر دست — بر مهر که پیوست و بکین که شکست

22. Once the shape of a cup is wrought, a drunkard cannot allow its breaking. Then, offhand, whose love united and whose hate broke so many lovely heads and legs?

Persian texts: Furūghī 22, Hedāyat 44, Dashtī 22
Verse translations: FitzGerald 62, Whinfield 42
Prose translations: McCarthy 100, Heron-Allen 19, Rosen 10, Christensen 77, Arberry CB/91

ترکیب طبایع چو بکام تو دمی است
رو شاد بزی اگرچه بر تو ستمی است
با اهل خرد باش که اصل تن تو
گردی و نسیمی و غباری و دمی است

23. Since for a moment the combination of (different) natures is as you wish, go live happily, though you are suffering. Be with the wise folk, for the origin of your body is a dust and a breeze, and a mist and a breath.

Persian texts: Furūghī 23, Dashtī 35
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

چون ابر بنوروز رخ لاله بشست　　برخیز و بجام باده کن عزم درست
کاین سبزه که امروز تماشاگه تست　　فردا همه از خاک تو برخواهد رست

24. Since the cloud has bathed the cheeks of the tulip on Nawrūz,[1] rise and resolve firmly upon the bowl of wine. For this green which you behold with pleasure today, tomorrow will all spring from your dust.

Persian texts: Furūghī 24, Hedāyat 62, Dashtī 62
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen V and 56, Christensen 51

[1] The New Year's Day in Persia (the first day of Spring).

چون بلبل مست راه در بستان یافت — روی گل و جام باده را خندان یافت

آمد بزبان حال در گوشم گفت — دریاب که عمر رفته را نتوان یافت

25. When the wanton nightingale found its way into the garden, it found laughing the face of the rose and the bowl of wine. It came and in a mute language whispered in my ear: "Take care! for the past life cannot be regained."

Persian texts: Furūghī 25
Verse translations: Whinfield 81
Prose translations: McCarthy 167

چون چرخ بکام یک خردمند نگشت　　تو خواه فلک هفت شمر خواهی هشت
چون باید مرد و آرزوها همه هشت　　چه مور خورد بگور و چه گرگ بدشت

26. Since the wheel (of Heaven) did not revolve to the wishes of any wise man, you count the spheres seven, if you wish; if you wish, eight.[1] Since one must die and leave behind all the desires, what if an ant should eat them in the grave, what if a wolf on the plain.

Persian texts: Furūghī 26, Hedāyat 40, Dashtī 46
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 17, Rosen 33

[1] The ancients who believed in spheres differed in their number.

چون لاله بنوروز قدح گیر بدست   بالاله رخی اگر ترا فرصت هست

می نوش بخرمی که این چرخ کهن   ناگاه ترا چو خاک گرداند پست

27. Like the tulip take the bowl in thy hand on the Nawrūz,[1] together with one who has tulip cheeks if thou hast time. Drink wine cheerfully, for this ancient Wheel[2] will suddenly abase thee like dust.

Persian texts: Furūghī 27, Hedāyat 122
Verse translations: Whinfield 44
Prose translations: McCarthy 102

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[1] The New Year's Day in Persia.

[2] Wheel of heaven.

چون نیست حقیقت و یقین اندر دست | نتوان بامید شک همه عمر نشست

هان تا ننهیم جام می از کف دست | در بیخبری مرد چه هشیار و چه مست

28. Since there is no truth and certainty in the hand, one cannot sit through the whole of life in doubt. Beware! that we do not lay aside the bowl of wine from the palm of the hand. (For if) man is in ignorance, what does it matter whether he is sober or drunk?

Persian texts: Furūghī 28
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen 35, Arberry CB/26

چون نیست ز هرچه هست جز باد بدست — چون هست بهرچه هست نقصان و شکست

انگار که هرچه هست در عالم نیست — پندار که هرچه نیست در عالم هست

29. Since from everything that there is, there is nothing but wind in the hand, and since there is deficiency and failure in everything, imagine that everything which is in the world does not exist. Suppose that everything which is not, *is* in the world.

Persian texts: Furūghī 29, Hedāyat 106
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen 56

خاکی که بزیر پای هر نادانی است — کف صنمی و چهرهٔ جانانی است
هر خشت که بر کنگرهٔ ایوانی است — انگشت وزیر یا سر سلطانی است

30. This dust which is under the feet of every ignorant one is the palm of a fair idol and the face of a sweetheart. Every brick that is on the battlement of a palace[1] is the finger of a vizier or the head of a sultan.

Persian texts: Furūghī 30
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen 37

[1] Literally *aiwān* means porch, and, by extension, palace.

دارنده چو ترکیب طبایع آراست از بهر چه افکندش اندر کم و کاست

گر نیک آمد شکستن از بهر چه بود ور نیک نیامد این صور عیب کراست

31. When the All-Possessor arranged the composition of (different) natures, why did he cast them meager and wanting? If they turned out well, what was this breaking for? And who is at fault if these images did not turn out well?

Persian texts: Furūghī 31, Hedāyat 11, Dashtī 19
Verse translations: FitzGerald 63, Whinfield 126
Prose translations: Rosen 40, Christensen 85

در پردهٔ اسرار کسی را ره نیست — زین تعبیه جان هیچ کس آگه نیست
جز در دل خاک هیچ منزلگه نیست — می خور که چنین فسانه‌ها کوته نیست

32. No one can pass behind the veil of Secrets; no one's soul is informed of this Arrangement. There is no other dwelling-place but in the heart of the earth. Drink wine, for such tales[1] are not short.

Persian texts: Furūghī 32, Dashtī 4
Verse translations: Whinfield 47
Prose translations: McCarthy 19, Heron-Allen 29, Rosen 42, Christensen 61, Arberry CB/70

[1] Illusions.

در خواب بدم مرا خردمندی گفت　　کز خواب کسی را گل شادی نشکفت

کاری چکنی که با اجل باشد جفت　　می خور که بزیر خاک میباید خفت

33. I was asleep when a sage told me that from sleeping the rose of happiness has not blossomed for any one. "Why do you do a deed which is death's twin?" (he said). "Drink wine, for one must sleep beneath the earth."

Persian texts: Furūghī 33

Verse translations: Whinfield 51

Prose translations: McCarthy 67, Heron-Allen 27, Rosen 43, Christensen 59

در دایره‌ای که آمد و رفتن ماست   او را نه بدایت نه نهایت پیداست
کس می نزند دمی در این معنی راست   کاین آمدن از کجا و رفتن بکجاست

34. In the cycle of our coming and going neither a beginning nor an end is visible. No one can correctly utter a single word on this subject—whence is this coming, and whither is this going.

Persian texts: Furūghī 34, Hedāyat 10, Dashtī 1
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen XI and 50, Christensen 80

در فصل بهار اگر بتی حورسرشت — یک ساغر می دهد مرا بر لب کشت

هر چند بنزد عامه این باشد زشت — سگ به ز من است اگر برم نام بهشت

35. In springtime if a mistress with a houri's[1] disposition should give me a goblet of wine along the fringes of a sown field, though this may appear unfitting[2] to the people, a dog will be better than I if I should mention paradise.[3]

Persian texts: Furūghī 35
Verse translations: FitzGerald 10, Whinfield 84
Prose translations: McCarthy 177, Heron-Allen 25, Rosen 47, Christensen 39

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[1] A white-skinned, black-eyed woman. A nymph of paradise, according to the Muslim beliefs.

[2] Literally, ugly.

[3] The last hemistich contains a Persian idiomatic expression which is translated literally here. It implies: I will never mention paradise.

دریاب که از روح جدا خواهی رفت
در پردهٔ اسرار فنا خواهی رفت
می نوش ندانی از کجا آمده‌ای
خوش باش ندانی بکجا خواهی رفت

36. Take advantage! for thou wilt be severed from thy soul; thou wilt go behind the Veil of the Mysteries of Non-existence. Drink wine, for thou knowest not whence thou hast come. Be merry, for thou knowest not where thou wilt go.

Persian texts: Furūghī 36
Verse translations: Whinfield 87
Prose translations: McCarthy 180, Heron-Allen 26, Christensen 15

ساقی گل و سبزه بس طربناک شده است　　دریاب که هفته دگر خاک شده است

می نوش و گلی بچین که تا درنگری　　گل خاک شده است و سبزه خاشاک شده است

37. Saki[1], the rose and the green have become merry. Take advantage, for they will turn to dust next week. Drink wine and pluck a rose, for as soon as you look, the rose has turned to dust and the green to straw.

Persian texts: Furūghī 37, Hedāyat 121
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Arberry CB/16

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[1] A cup-bearer, often a maiden or a young man, who serves the wine.

عمری است مرا تیره و کاری است نه راست   محنت همه افزوده و راحت کم و کاست

شکر ایزد را که آنچه اسباب بلاست   ما را ز کسی دگر نمی باید خواست

38. Mine is a dark life, and none of my affairs are in order. Sufferings are all increased, and there is little ease. Thank God that we need not ask someone else for further causes of affliction.

Persian texts: Furūghī 38
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

فصل گل و طرف جویبار و لب کشت   با یک دو سه اهل و لعبتی حورسرشت
پیش آر قدح که باده نوشان صبوح   آسوده ز مسجدند و فارغ ز کنشت

39. In the season of roses, towards the brook, and along the fringes of a sown field, together with two or three gentle folk and a doll with a houri's[1] disposition—bring forth the bowl, for the bibbers of the morning draught[2] are free from the mosque and through with the temple.

Persian texts: Furūghī 39, Hedāyat 119, Dashtī 51
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 32

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[1] See n. 1 of Rubā'ī 35.
[2] Wine, if drunk in the morning.

گر شاخ بقا ز بیخ بختت رسته است — ور بر تن تو عمر لباسی چست است

در خیمهٔ تن که سایه بانی است ترا — هان تکیه مکن که چار میخش سست است

40. If the bough of eternity has grown from the root of your good fortune, and if life is a fitting garment upon your body—beware! lean not against this tent of the body which is a shade for you, for its four pegs are weak.

Persian texts: Furūghī 40
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

گویند کسان بهشت با حور خوش است — من می‌گویم که آب انگور خوش است

این نقد بگیر و دست از آن نسیه بدار — کآواز دهل شنیدن از دور خوش است

41. People say that to be in paradise with a houri[1] is delightful. I say that the juice of the grape is delightful. Take this cash and keep your hand away from that credit, for to hear the sound of the drum from afar is delightful.

Persian texts: Furūghī 41, Hedāyat 90
Verse translations: FitzGerald 12, Whinfield 108
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 34, Rosen 62, Arberry CB/102

[1] See n. 1 of Rubā'ī 35.

گویند مرا که دوزخی باشد مست　　قولی است خلاف دل در آن نتوان بست

گر عاشق و میخواره به دوزخ باشند　　فردا بینی بهشت همچون کف دست

42. They tell me that the drunkard is bound for hell. It is a preverse saying and one cannot set one's heart on it. If lovers and wine-bibbers are to be in hell, tomorrow you will see paradise (empty) like the palm of the hand.

Persian texts: Furūghī 42, Hedāyat 87
Verse translations: Whinfield 67
Prose translations: McCarthy 131, Rosen 63, Christensen 11, Arberry CB/128

من هیچ ندانم که مرا آنکه سرشت
از اهل بهشت کرد یا دوزخ زشت
جامی و بتی و بربطی بر لب کشت
این هر سه مرا نقد و ترا نسیه بهشت

43. I know not at all whether He Who molded me made me of the folk of paradise or of ugly hell. A bowl (of wine), a beloved, and a harp, along the fringes of a sown field—these three are cash for me, and for thee a credit-paradise.

Persian texts: Furūghī 43, Hedāyat 92
Verse translations: FitzGerald 10, Whinfield 94
Prose translations: McCarthy 314, Heron-Allen 40, Rosen 67, Christensen 55, Arberry CB/47

مهتاب بنور دامن شب بشکافت
می نوش دمی بهتر از این نتوان یافت
خوش باش و میندیش که مهتاب بسی
اندر سر خاک یک بیک خواهد تافت

44. The moonlight tore the skirt of the night with light. Drink wine a little while, for one cannot find better than this. Be happy and do not worry, for the moonlight, remaining alone, will shine upon the dust of (all), one by one.

Persian texts: Furūghī 44, Hedāyat 111
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 47

می خوردن و شاد بودن آیین من است　　فارغ بودن ز کفر و دین دین من است
گفتم به عروس دهر کابین تو چیست　　گفتا دل خرم تو کابین من است

45. To drink wine and to be happy is my custom. To be free from religion and unbelief is my religion. I told the bride of Time: "What is your dowry?" She said: "My dowry is your cheerful heart."

Persian texts: Furūghī 45, Hedāyat 75
Verse translations: Whinfield 59
Prose translations: McCarthy 109

می لعل مذاب است و صراحی کان است — جسم است پیاله و شرابش جان است

آن جام بلورین که ز می خندان است — اشکی است که خون دل در او پنهان است

46. Wine is molten ruby, and the flagon is the mine. The cup is the body, and its wine the soul. Yon crystal bowl that is laughing with the wine is a tear in which a (broken) heart's blood is hiding.

Persian texts: Furūghī 46
Verse translations: Whinfield 105
Prose translations: McCarthy 15?, Heron-Allen 39, Rosen 65, Arberry CB/64

می نوش که عمر جاودانی این است   خود حاصلت از دور جوانی این است
هنگام گل و باده و یاران سرمست   خوش باش دمی که زندگانی این است

47. Drink wine, for eternal life is this. Your very harvest of the period of youth is this. It is the season of rose and wine, and the companions are drunk. Be merry for a while, for life is this.

Persian texts: Furūghī 47, Hedāyat 133
Verse translations: Whinfield 106
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 36

نیکی و بدی که در نهاد بشر است — شادی و غمی که در قضا و قدر است

با چرخ مکن حواله کاندر ره عقل — چرخ از تو هزار بار بیچاره‌تر است

48. The good and the bad which are in man's nature, the joy and the sorrow which are in one's fate—leave not your affairs to the care of the Wheel,[1] for in the way of wisdom this Wheel is a thousand times more helpless than you are.

Persian texts: Furūghī 48, Hedāyat 34
Verse translations: FitzGerald 52, Whinfield 96
Prose translations: McCarthy 39, Heron-Allen 41, Rosen 70, Christensen 83

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[1] Wheel of heaven.

در هر دشتی که لاله‌زاری بوده است   از سرخی خون شهریاری بوده است
هر شاخ بنفشه کز زمین می‌روید   خالی است که بر رخ نگاری بوده است

49. In every plain where there has been a bed of tulips it has grown from the rosiness of a monarch's blood. Every twig of violet that springs from the dust has once been a beauty spot on a sweetheart's cheek.

Persian texts: Furūghī 49
Verse translations: FitzGerald 18, Whinfield 104
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 43, Rosen 48, Christensen 46

هر ذره که در خاک زمینی بوده است
پیش از من و تو تاج و نگینی بوده است
گرد از رخ نازنین بآزرم فشان
کانهم رخ خوب نازنینی بوده است

50. Every atom that has been in the soil of a land has been a crown and the gem (of a ring) before me and thee. Remove the dust gently from the face of the tender beloved, for it, too, has been the good face of a delicate loved one.

Persian texts: Furūghī 50, Hedāyat 58, Dashtī 37
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

هر سبزه که بر کنار جوئی رسته است   گوئی ز لب فرشته‌خوئی رسته است
پا بر سر سبزه تا بخواری ننهی   کان سبزه ز خاک لاله‌روئی رسته است

51. Every green grass that has grown along the fringes of a brook, so to say, has sprung from the lips of one of angelic temper. Be careful not to set your foot upon the grass in contempt, for that grass has sprung from the dust of one of tulip-tinted cheeks.

Persian texts: Furūghī 51, Hedāyat 63
Verse translations: FitzGerald 19, Whinfield 62
Prose translations: McCarthy 123, Rosen 73, Christensen 81, Arberry CB/83

یک جرعه می ز ملک کاوس بهست از تخت قباد و ملکت طوس بهست
هر ناله که رندی بسحرگاه زند از طاعت زاهدان سالوس بهست

52. A draught of wine is better than the kingdom of Kāʾūs.[1] It is better than the throne of Qubād[2] and the land of Ṭūs.[3] Every sigh that a knave utters at dawn is better than the worshiping of a hypocritical devotee.

Persian texts: Furūghī 52
Verse translations: FitzGerald 9, Whinfield 64
Prose translations: McCarthy 129, Rosen 78, Christensen 88, Arberry CB/42

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[1] One of the Persian kings of the Kayānī Dynasty, the second dynasty which ruled over Persia. Their dominion was over the eastern part of the country, and they are mentioned in *Avestā* as well as in some of the national legends.

[2] One of the Persian kings of the Sāsāniyān Dynasty and the father of Anūsherwān (Nūsherwān), the Just.

[3] A city in Persia and the birthplace of Firdausi, a Persian poet and the author of the great epic poem, *Shāh-Nāma*.

چون عمر بسر رسد چه شیرین و چه تلخ پیمانه چو پر شود چه بغداد و چه بلخ

می نوش که بعد از من و تو ماه بسی از سلخ بغره آید از غره بسلخ

53. When life ends, what matters if it had been sweet or bitter? Once the cup[1] becomes full, what matters if at Baghdad[2] or Balkh?[3] Drink wine, for after me and thee the moon will pass many times from the old to new and from the new to old.

Persian texts: Furūghī 53, Hedāyat 95, Dashtī 48
Verse translations: Whinfield 134
Prose translations: McCarthy 148, Heron-Allen 47, Rosen 81, Christensen 93, Arberry CB/92

[1] The cup of life.
[2] An ancient city which once was a part of the Persian empire, now the capital of ʿIraq.
[3] An ancient city which once was a part of the Persian empire, now in Afghanistan.

آنانکه محیط فضل و آداب شدند — در جمع کمال شمع اصحاب شدند

ره زین شب تاریک نبردند برون — گفتند فسانه‌ای و در خواب شدند

54. Those who embraced (every) excellence and civility, and in cultivating[1] perfection became candles to disciples, did not find their way out of this dark night—they told a legend and went to sleep.

Persian texts: Furūghī 54, Hedāyat 12, Dashtī 3
Verse translations: Whinfield 209
Prose translations: McCarthy 252, Rosen 86, Arberry CB/30

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[1] Literally, gathering.

آنرا که بصحرای علل تاخته‌اند　　بی او همه کارها بپرداخته‌اند
امروز بهانه در انداخته‌اند　　فردا همه آن بود که در ساخته‌اند

55. The one whom they[1] have made to gallop on the desert of weakness—without him they have arranged all affairs. Today they have made[2] excuses. Tomorrow it will be all as they have fashioned.

Persian texts: Furūghī 55, Dashtī 69
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

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[1] This Rubā‘ī deals with the theme of man's helplessness in the face of destiny. "They" refers to the forces of destiny.

[2] Literally, "they have thrown in excuses."

آنانکه کهن شدند و اینها که نوند　　هر کس بمراد خویش یک تک بدوند

این کهنه جهان بکس نماند باقی　　رفتند و رویم و دیگر آیند و روند

56. Those who became old and these who are young,[1] each one runs the race once after his own desire. This old world will not remain for anyone. They went, and we will go, and others, too, will come and go.

Persian texts: Furūghī 56, Dashtī 29
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen 85, Arberry CB/5

[1] Literally, new.

آن کس که زمین و چرخ و افلاک نهاد   بس داغ که او بر دل غمناک نهاد

بسیار لب چو لعل و زلفین چو مشک   در طبل زمین و حقهٔ خاک نهاد

57. He Who built the Earth, the Wheel, and the Heavens cut many scars upon the sad heart. He laid many lips like rubies and tresses like musk into the drum[1] of the earth and the casket of the dust.[2]

Persian texts: Furūghī 57, Hedāyat 24
Verse translations: Whinfield 137
Prose translations: McCarthy 168, Rosen 89, Christensen 95, Arberry CB/31

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[1] A figurative reference to either the shape of the earth or the grave.

[2] A figurative reference to the grave.

آرند یکی و دیگری بربایند   بر هیچ کسی راز همی نگشایند

ما را ز قضا جز این قدر ننمایند   پیمانهٔ عمر ماست می پیمایند

58. They bring one, snatch away another. To none they disclose the secret. From our destiny they show us but this much. It is the cup of our life that they measure.[1]

Persian texts: Furūghī 58, Dashtī 30
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

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[1] If Khayyām had the figurative meaning of the words *paimāna* and *paimūdan* in mind, then the last sentence should be translated as follows: "It is the wine of our life that they are drinking." Wine, here, meaning the juice.

اجرام که ساکنان این ایوانند　　اسباب تردد خردمندانند

هان تا سر رشتهٔ خرد گم نکنی　　کانانکه مدبرند سرگردانند

59. (These celestial) globes that are dwellers of this heaven are the causes of perplexity among the wise. Beware! not to lose the end of the thread of wisdom, for even those who are sagacious are bewildered.

Persian texts: Furūghī 59, Hedāyat 9, Dashtī 7
Verse translations: Whinfield 214
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 58, Rosen 91

از آمدنم نبود گردون را سود — وز رفتن من جلال و جاهش نفزود

وز هیچ کسی نیز دو گوشم نشنود — کاین آمدن و رفتنم از بهر چه بود

60. From my coming there was no gain for the heavens; and from my going, too, their glory and dignity did not increase. From no one have my two ears heard for what purpose were these comings and goings of mine.

Persian texts: Furūghī 60, Hedāyat 3, Dashtī 20
Verse translations: Whinfield 176
Prose translations: McCarthy 195, Heron-Allen 51, Rosen 125, Christensen 94, Arberry CB/10

از رنج کشیدن آدمی حر گردد قطره چو کشد حبس صدف در گردد
گر مال نماند سر بماناد بجای پیمانه چو شد تهی دگر پر گردد

61. From suffering man becomes free. The drop (of rain), because of going through the confinement of a shell, becomes a pearl. If your wealth has not remained, your head remains in its place. Once the cup becomes empty, it will become full again.

Persian texts: Furūghī 61
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

افسوس که سرمایه ز کف بیرون شد — وز دست اجل بسی جگرها خون شد

کس نامد از آن جهان که پرسم از وی — کاحوال مسافران دنیا چون شد

62. Alas that my fortune has slipped out of my palm, and by the hand of Death many hearts have been drowned in blood. No one has come from the other world that I might ask him how the travellers of the world have fared.

Persian texts: Furūghī 62, Hedāyat 36
Verse translations: Whinfield 152
Prose translations: McCarthy 221, Rosen 94, Arberry CB/7

افسوس که نامهٔ جوانی طی شد وان تازه بهار زندگانی دی شد
آن مرغ طرب که نام او بود شباب فریاد ندانم که کی آمد کی شد

63. Alas that the letter of youth is folded and that fresh spring of life is turned to winter. That bird of joy whose name was youth—woe,[1] I know not when it came, nor when it went.

Persian texts: Furūghī 63, Hedāyat 35
Verse translations: FitzGerald 72, Whinfield 155
Prose translations: McCarthy 223, Arberry CB/109

[1] Literally, cry, or shout.

ای بس که نباشیم و جهان خواهد بود   نی نام ز ما و نی نشان خواهد بود

زین پیش نبودیم و نبد هیچ خلل   زین پس چو نباشیم همان خواهد بود

64. O, what a long time that we shall not be and the world will be. There will be neither a name nor any trace of us. Before this we were not, and there was no harm. After this, when we shall not be, it will be the same.

Persian texts: Furūghī 64, Hedāyat 51, Dashtī 11
Verse translations: Whinfield 150
Prose translations: McCarthy 210

این عقل که در ره سعادت پوید   روزی صد بار خود ترا میگوید

دریاب تو این یکدم وقت که نهٔ   آن تره که بدروند و دیگر روید

65. This Reason, that walks along the path of bliss, tells thee a hundred times a day: "Take advantage of this one moment of thy time; for thou art not the leek which is picked and grows again."

Persian texts: Furūghī 65
Verse translations: Whinfield 217
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 49, Christensen 10

این قافلهٔ عمر عجب میگذرد   دریاب دمی که با طرب میگذرد
ساقی غم فردای حریفان چه خوری   پیش آر پیاله را که شب میگذرد

66. This caravan of life is in a strange way passing. Take advantage for a while, for it is merrily passing. O, Saki, why do you grieve for tomorrow's rivals? Bring forth the cup, for the night is passing.

Persian texts: Furūghī 66, Hedāyat 115
Verse translations: FitzGerald 38, Whinfield 136
Prose translations: McCarthy 165, Heron-Allen 60, Rosen 97, Christensen 97

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[1] The third hemistich of this Rubā'i could also be translated as follows: "O, Saki, why do you grieve for the rival's tomorrow?" This is an entirely different meaning. But the position of the words permits both translations.

برپشت من از زمانه تو می اید   وزمن همه کار نانکو می آید
جان عزم رحیل کرد و گفتم بمرو   گفتا چکنم خانه فرو می آید

67. My back is bent with Time; yet I am capable of all unbecoming deeds. My soul resolved on the journey[1] and I said, "Do not go." It said, "What am I to do? The house[2] is coming down."

Persian texts: Furūghī 67
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

[1] Journey of death.
[2] The body.

بر چرخ فلک هیچ کسی چیر نشد   وز خوردن آدمی زمین سیر نشد

مغرور بدانی که نخوردست ترا   تعجیل مکن هم بخورد دیر نشد

68. No one has prevailed upon the Wheel of Heaven. Neither has the Earth had its fill of eating mankind. You are proud that it has not eaten you? Hurry not. It will eat you, too. It is not late.

Persian texts: Furūghī 68
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

بر چشم تو عالم ار چه می آرایند　　مگرای بدان که عاقلان نگرایند
بسیار چو تو روند و بسیار آیند　　بربای نصیب خویش کت بربایند

69. Though they adorn the world before your eyes do not grow attached to it, for the wise do not. Many like you shall depart, and many shall come. Snatch your share, for you will be snatched away (some day).

Persian texts: Furūghī 69, Hedāyat 45, Dashtī 66
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen I and 115, Christensen 17

بر من قلم قضا چو بی من رانند — پس نیک و بدش ز من چرا میدانند

دی بی من و امروز چو دی بی من و تو — فردا به چه حجت به داور خوانند

70. Since without me the pen of destiny writes about me, why, then, do they ascribe its good and bad to me? Yesterday without me, and today, like yesterday, without me and thee—tomorrow on what allegation will they call me to the Judge?

Persian texts: Furūghī 70, Dashtī 21
Verse translations: —
Prose: translations: —

تا چند اسیر رنگ و بو خواهی شد — چند از پی هر زشت و نکو خواهی شد

گر چشمهٔ زمزمی و گر آب حیات — آخر بدل خاک فرو خواهی شد

71. How long will you be the captive of hue and scent? How long will you be after every foul and fair? Whether you be the well of Zamzam[1], or the water of life, at last you shall sink in the heart of the earth.

Persian texts: Furūghī 71
Verse translations: Whinfield 158
Prose translations: McCarthy 211, Rosen 103, Arberry CB/135

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[1] A well at Mecca, the birthplace of Muḥammad.

تا راه قلندری نپویی نشود رخساره بخون دل نشویی نشود
سودا چه پزی تا که چو دلسوختگان آزاد بترک خود نگویی نشود

72. It will not do until thou takest the path of the life of the wanderers. It will not do unless thou bathest thy cheeks with the heart's blood. What transaction art thou scheming?[1] For it will not do—not until, like those whose hearts are burnt, thou freest thyself by renouncing thy Self.

Persian texts: Furūghī 72
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

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[1] Literally, "What bargain cookest thou?"

تا زهره و مه در آسمان گشت پدید
بهتر ز می ناب کسی هیچ ندید
من در عجبم ز میفروشان کایشان
به زانکه فروشند چه خواهند خرید

73. Ever since Venus and the Moon appeared in the sky, nobody has seen anything better than clear wine. I wonder at the wine-sellers, for better than what they sell, what will they buy?

Persian texts: Furūghī 73, Hedāyat 110
Verse translations: Whinfield 208
Prose translations: Christensen 70

چون روزی و عمر بیش و کم نتوان کرد　　دل را بکم و بیش دژم نتوان کرد

کار من و تو چنانکه رای من و تست　　از موم بدست خویش هم نتوان کرد

74. Since one cannot increase or lessen one's lot and life, one cannot sadden the heart over the less and the more. My affairs and thine, as it is my will and thine, cannot be molded out of wax even by our own hands.

Persian texts: Furūghī 74, Hedāyat 27, Dashtī 75
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen 11, Arberry CB/149

حیی که بقدرت سر و رو می سازد　　همواره همو کار عدو می سازد
گویند قرابه گر مسلمان نبود　　او را تو چه گویی که کدو می سازد

75. That Living One, Who makes heads and faces with might, He Himself always helps the work. They say that he who makes flagons[1] is not a Muslim. What are you telling him? He is making pumpkins.[2]

Persian texts: Furūghī 75
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

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[1] Flagons are used for refining wine, and wine is forbidden in Islam.
[2] This rubā'ī contains a mischievous switch from the serious to the light.

در دهر چو آواز گل تازه دهند　　فرمای بتا که می باندازه دهند
از حور و قصور و ز بهشت و دوزخ　　فارغ بنشین که آن هر آوازه دهند

76. When in the world they announce (the coming of) the fresh rose, bid, O fair idol, that they bring enough wine. Sit free from houris,[1] castles, paradise, and hell, for these they give in every announcement.

Persian texts: Furūghī 76, Dashtī 50
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

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[1] See n. 1 of Rubā'ī 55.

در دهر هر آنکه نیم نانی دارد   از بهر نشست آشیانی دارد
نه خادم کس بود نه مخدوم کسی   گو شاد بزی که خوش جهانی دارد

77. Whoever possesses half a loaf of bread in this world, has a nest to settle in, is neither anyone's servant nor anyone's master—tell him to live merrily, for he has a delightful world.

Persian texts: Furūghī 77, Dashtī 59
Verse translations: Whinfield 168
Prose translations: McCarthy 262, Rosen 118

دهقان قضا بسی چو ما کشت و درود غم خوردن بیهوده نمیدارد سود

پر کن قدح می بکفم درنه زود تا باز خورم که بودنیها همه بود

78. The farmer of destiny has sown and reaped many such as us. Useless grieving will not help. Fill the bowl of wine, place it swiftly on my palm so that I may drink again; for whatever must be has been.

Persian texts: Furūghī 78, Dashtī 12
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

روزی است خوش و هوا نه گرم است و نه سرد
ابر از رخ گلزار همی شوید گرد
بلبل بزبان حال خود با گل زرد
فریاد همی کند که می باید خورد

79. It is a pleasant day, and the weather is neither hot nor cold. The cloud is washing the dust away from the cheeks of the rose-garden. The nightingale in his own mute language is crying to the yellow flower that one must drink wine.

Persian texts: Furūghī 79, Hedāyat 118
Verse translations: Fitz Gerald 6, Whinfield 174
Prose translations: McCarthy 247, Heron-Allen 67, Rosen 123, Arberry CB/154

زان پیش که بر سرت شبیخون آرند فرمای که تا باده گلگون آرند

تو زر نه‌ای غافل نادان که ترا در خاک نهند و باز بیرون آرند

80. Ere they bring a night-attack upon you, bid them bring wine which is like roses. You are not gold, O heedless fool, that they should lay you in the earth and dig you up again.

Persian texts: Furūghī 80
Verse translations: FitzGerald 15, Whinfield 175
Prose translations: McCarthy 277, Heron-Allen 68, Rosen 124, Christensen 7, Arberry CB/76

عمرت تا کی بخودپرستی گذرد　　یا در پی نیستی و هستی گذرد

می نوش که عمری که اجل در پی اوست　　آن به که بخواب یا بمستی گذرد

81. How long will your life pass in selfishness? Or will it pass in search of being or not being? Drink wine, for a life that has a death after it is better to be passed in sleep or in drunkenness.

Persian texts: Furūghī 81, Hedāyat 143
Verse translations: Whinfield 183
Prose translations: McCarthy 276, Rosen 130

کس مشکل اسرار اجل را نگشاد　　کس یک قدم از نهاد بیرون ننهاد

من می‌نگرم ز مبتدی تا استاد　　عجز است بدست هر که از مادر زاد

82. No one has discovered the secrets of death. No one has taken a step beyond (his own) nature. I see that from the beginner to the master there is helplessness in the hands of everyone who is born of a mother.

Persian texts: Furūghī 82
Verse translations: Whinfield 190
Prose translations: McCarthy 266, Heron-Allen 72

کم کن طمع از جهان و میزی خورسند   وز نیک و بد زمانه بگسل پیوند
می در کف و زلف دلبری گیر که زود   هم بگذرد و نماند این روزی چند

83. Lessen your greed of the world and live on content. Sever relations with the good and bad of the Time. Hold (a bowl of) wine on your palm and the tresses of one who ravishes the heart, for soon these few days will pass, too, and will not remain.

Persian texts: Furūghī 83
Verse translations: Whinfield 191
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 73, Rosen 133, Arberry CB/152

گرچه غم و رنج من درازی دارد　　عیش و طرب تو سرفرازی دارد
بر هر دو مکن تکیه که دوران فلک　　در پرده هزار گونه بازی دارد

84. Though my grief and suffering are lengthy, and your pleasure and mirth are rising—do not depend on either; for the revolution of the heavens has a thousand kinds of games (hidden) behind the veil.

Persian texts: Furūghī 84
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

گردون ز زمین هیچ گلی بر نارد   کش نشکند و هم بزمین نسپارد

گر ابر چو آب خاک را بردارد   تا حشر همه خون عزیزان بارد

85. Heaven brings no rose out of the earth which it will not tear apart and deposit again in the earth. If the clouds should cover the earth like water, they would rain the blood of the dear ones till the Resurrection.

Persian texts: Furūghī 85
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen 135, Arberry CB/55

گر یک نفست ز زندگانی گذرد   مگذار که جز بشادمانی گذرد
هشدار که سرمایهٔ سودای جهان   عمراست چنان کش گذرانی گذرد

86. If but one breath of your life passes by, let it not pass but in happiness. Beware! for the essence of the world's transactions is life that passes as you pass it.

Persian texts: Furūghī 86, Dashtī 58
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen 136, Arberry CB/113

گویند بهشت و حور عین خواهد بود
آنجا می و شیر و انگبین خواهد بود
گر ما می و معشوق گزیدیم چه باک
چون عاقبت کار چنین خواهد بود

87. They say that there will be a Paradise with dark-eyed houris[1] in it. There will be wine and milk and honey in it. If we chose wine and the sweetheart, what fear then? For the end of the business will be so.

Persian texts: Furūghī 87, Hedāyat 88, Dashtī 53
Verse translations: Whinfield 185
Prose translations: McCarthy 257, Rosen 137, Christensen 4, Arberry CB/124

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[1] See n. 1 of Rubā'ī 35.

گویند بهشت و حور و کوثر باشد — جوی می و شیر و شهد و شکر باشد

پر کن قدح باده و بر دستم نه — نقدی ز هزار نسیه خوشتر باشد

88. They say there is Paradise with houris and the (heavenly river of) Kausar[1] in it. They say there is wine, and milk, and honey, and sugar in it. Fill the bowl of wine and put it in my hand. A (small sum of) cash is more delightful than a thousand credits.

Persian texts: Furūghī 88, Hedāyat 89
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 267

[1] A river in paradise, according to the Muslim beliefs.

گویند هر آنکسان که با پرهیزند زانسان که بمیرند چنان برخیزند
ما با می و معشوقه از آنیم مدام باشد که بحشرمان چنان انگیزند

89. They say that all those who abstain, as they die shall rise. This is why we are always with wine and the beloved—perhaps, thus they will make us rise on the Resurrection day.

Persian texts: Furughi 89
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen 138, Arberry CB/127

می خور که ز دل کثرت و قلت ببرد   و اندیشهٔ هفتاد و دو ملت ببرد

پرهیز مکن ز کیمیائی که ازو   یک جرعه خوری هزار علت ببرد

90. Drink wine, for it removes from the heart (the thought of) the more and the less. And it removes misgivings of the seventy-two sects. Do not abstain from an elixir that, if you drink but a draught of it, removes a thousand cares.

Persian texts: Furughi 90
Verse translations: FitzGerald 43, Whinfield 194
Prose translations: McCarthy 289?, Heron-Allen 77, Christensen 42

هر راز که اندر دل دانا باشد   باید که نهفته‌تر ز عنقا باشد
کاندر صدف از نهفتگی گردد در   آن قطره که راز دل دریا باشد

91. Every secret that is in the heart of the wise man must be more hidden than the phoenix—for that drop (of water), which is the secret of the ocean's heart, from hiding becomes a pearl in the shell.[1]

Persian texts: Furūghī 91, Dashtī 72
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

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[1] The ancients used to think that should a drop of rain fall in the shell (mother of pearl) it will become a pearl.

هر صبح که روی لاله شبنم گیرد — بالای بنفشه در چمن خم گیرد

انصاف مرا ز غنچه خوش می‌آید — کو دامن خویشتن فراهم گیرد

92. Every morning when dew covers the face of the tulip, the stature of the violet bends in the meadow. To be fair I like the rose-bud which gathers its own skirt about it.

Persian texts: Furūghī 92
Verse translations: Whinfield 210
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 82, Rosen 147, Arberry CB/137

هرگز دل من ز علم محروم نشد — کم ماند ز اسرار که معلوم نشد

هفتاد و دو سال فکر کردم شب و روز — معلومم شد که هیچ معلوم نشد

93. My heart has never been deprived of knowledge. There have remained few secrets that have not become known. For seventy-two years I have meditated day and night. It has become clear to me that nothing has been made known.[1]

Persian texts: Furūghī 93
Verse translations: Whinfield 142?, 192?
Prose translations: McCarthy 284?, Rosen 146

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[1] This quatrain is also attributed to Fakhri Rāzī, another Persian Poet (from Furūghī's notes). Although he was a Muslim theologian, he receives more attention today for his philosophical writings. Born in Ray in 543/1148, he died in Herāt in 606/1209.

هم دانهٔ امید بخرمن ماند   هم باغ و سرای بی تو و من ماند
سیم و زر خویش از درمی تا بجوی   با دوست بخور گر نه بدشمن ماند

94. The seed of hope will be left behind in the harvest. The garden and the house, too, will be left without thee and me. From a dirham[1] to a grain, spend with friends thy silver and gold, or else they will be left with the enemy.

Persian texts: Furūghī 94, Dashtī 67
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 95?

[1] An ancient monetary unit of varying value.

یاران موافق همه از دست شدند　　در پای اجل یکان یکان پست شدند

خوردیم ز یک شراب در مجلس عمر　　دوری دو سه پیشتر ز ما مست شدند

95. The conforming friends all are lost. At the feet of Death they became abased one by one. In the feast of life we drank the same wine; (but) they became drunk two or three rounds before we did.

Persian texts: Furūghī 95, Hedāyat 38
Verse translations: FitzGerald 21, Whinfield 219
Prose translations: —

یک جام شراب صد دل و دین ارزد   یک جرعهٔ می مملکت چین ارزد
جز بادهٔ لعل نیست در روی زمین   تلخی که هزار جان شیرین ارزد

96. One bowl of wine is worth a hundred hearts and faiths; one draught of wine is worth the kingdom of China. Except for the ruby wine, there is no other bitter thing on earth that is worth a thousand sweet lives.

Persian texts: Furūghī 96
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 242, Heron-Allen 85, Rosen 149, Christensen 8, Arberry CB/136

یک قطرهٔ آب بود با دریا شد　　یک ذرهٔ خاک با زمین یکتا شد

آمد شدن تو اندرین عالم چیست　　آمد مگسی پدید و ناپیدا شد

97. There was a drop of watér. It joined the ocean. An atom of dust became one with the earth. What is your coming into this world? A fly appeared and disappeared.

Persian texts: Furūghī 97, Hedāyat 41, Dashtī 9
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen VII

یک نان بدو روز اگر بود حاصل مرد   وز کوزه شکسته دمی آبی سرد

مامور کم از خودی چرا باید بود   یا خدمت چون خودی چرا باید کرد

98. If in two days (only) one loaf of bread should be the harvest of man, and from a broken jar cold water for a while—why should he be the vassal of one who is less than himself? Or why should he serve one who is like himself?

Persian texts: Furūghī 98
Verse translations: Whinfield 207
Prose translations: —

آن لعل در آبگینهٔ ساده بیار وان محرم و مونس هر آزاده بیار
چون میدانی که مدت عالم خاک باد است که زود بگذرد باده بیار

99. Bring that ruby (wine) in a simple glass. Bring that confidant and companion of every free man. Since you know that the term of this world of dust is (like) the wind that passes swiftly, bring the wine.

Persian texts: Furūghī 99
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 225, Heron-Allen 87

از بودنی ای دوست چه داری تیمار   وز فکرت بیهوده دل و جان افکار

خرم بزی و جهان بشادی گذران   تدبیر نه با تو کرده اند اول کار

100. Why do you grieve over the inevitable, O friend? And why your heart and your soul vexed with futile thoughts? Live merrily and pass the world in happiness. They did not plan with you at the beginning of the affairs.[1]

Persian texts: Furughi 100
Verse translations: Whinfield 241
Prose translations: McCarthy 280, Rosen 150

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[1] The day of creation.

افلاک که جز غم نفزایند دگر ننهند بجا تا نربایند دگر

ناآمدگان اگر بدانند که ما از دهر چه میکشیم نایند دگر

101. The heavens, that increase nothing but sorrows again, put nothing in its place before they snatch away another. If those who have not yet come knew what we suffer at the hands of the world, they would come no more.

Persian texts: Furūghī 101, Hedāyat 28, Dashtī 32
Verse translations: Whinfield 240
Prose translations: McCarthy 249, Rosen 152, Arberry CB/87

ای دل غم این جهان فرسوده مخور　　بیهوده نه‌ای غمان بیهوده مخور

چون بوده گذشت و نیست نابوده پدید　　خوش باش غم بوده و نابوده مخور

102. O heart, feed not on the sorrows of this worn out world. Thou art not here in vain, feed not on useless sorrows. Since whatever was has passed, and whatever is to be is not visible, be merry, and grieve not after what has been and what has not been.

Persian texts: Furūghī 102, Dashtī 60
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen 155, Arberry CB/144

ای دل همه اسباب جهان خواسته گیر	باغ طرب بسبزه آراسته گیر

وانگاه بر آن سبزه شبی چون شبنم	بنشسته و بامداد برخاسته گیر

103. O heart, assume that áll the resources of the world are as you wish; assume that the garden of your merriment is adorned with green grass. Then assume that like dew you have sat on that grass one (single) night and have risen in the morn.

Persian texts: Furūghī 103
Verse translations: FitzGerald 14, Whinfield 243
Prose translations: McCarthy 173?, Rosen 154

این اهل قبور خاک گشتند و غبار   هر ذره ز هر ذره گرفتند کنار

آه این چه شراب است که تا روز شمار   بیخود شده و بیخبرند از همه کار

104. These dwellers of the graves have turned to earth and dust. Every atom has drawn apart from every other atom. Alas! what is this liquor, that until the Day of Reckoning they are all so carried away and unaware of everything?

Persian texts: Furūghī 104
Verse translations: Whinfield 242
Prose translations: McCarthy 292, Rosen 156, Arberry CB/60

خشت سر خم ز ملکت جم خوشتر بوی قدح از غذای مریم خوشتر

آه سحری ز سینه خماری از نالهٔ بوسعید و ادهم خوشتر

105. The brick that covers the jar[1] is sweeter than the kingdom of Jam;[2] the scent of the bowl[3] is sweeter than the food of Mary. A sigh at dawn from the breast of a wine seller, too, is sweeter than the wailings of Bū Saʿīd and Adham.[4]

Persian texts: Furūghī 105
Verse translations: Whinfield 253
Prose translations: Rosen 160, Christensen 101, Arberry CB/12

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[1] Jar of wine.

[2] One of the Persian kings. See n. 1 of Rubāʿī 7, and n. 2 of Rubāʿī 17.

[3] Bowl of wine.

[4] Abū Saʿīd b. Abi'l-Khair and Ibrāhīm Adham were two well known learned and pious men. The former was also a poet.

در دایرهٔ سپهر ناپیدا غور — جامی است که جمله را چشانند بدور

نوبت چو بدور تو رسد آه مکن — می نوش بخوشدلی که دور است بخور

106. In the circle of the sky, whose bottom is not visible, is a bowl[1] that they make (us) all taste in turn. When it comes to your turn do not sigh. (But now) drink wine with a merry heart, for it is (our) turn to drink.

Persian texts: Furūghī 106, Hedāyat 125
Verse translations: FitzGerald 48, Whinfield 254
Prose translations —

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[1] This "bowl" is not a reference to the bowl of wine; rather it refers to man's sad destiny, sufferings, death, etc.

[2] The following reading of the fourth hemistich of this quatrain was suggested to me by Mr. Parvīz Jāvīd: to read, *dūr ast be khūr*, instead of *daur ast be khūr*. If so read, two different literal translations are possible, which will change the last clause of the translation of this Rubā'ī to:

(a) ". . . , for it is *far* from drinking (time)."

(b) ". . . , for it is *far* from sun (rise)."

"Drinking" in (a) will, of course, refer to the "jām," that is the "bowl," of the second hemistich. And (b) means that it is early in the evening and we have much time for drinking wine with a merry heart, before the sun rises.

دی کوزه‌گری بدیدم اندر بازار
بر پاره گلی لگد همی زد بسیار
وآن گل بزبان حال با او میگفت
من همچو تو بوده‌ام مرا نیکو دار

107. Yesterday I saw a potter at the bazaar who was trampling heavily on a lump of clay. And that clay in a mute language was telling him: "I was (once) like thee. Treat me well."

Persian texts: Furūghī 107
Verse translations: FitzGerald 36, Whinfield 252
Prose translations: McCarthy 245, Heron-Allen 89, Rosen 161, Christensen 68

زان می که حیات جاودانی است بخور
سرمایهٔ لذت جوانی است بخور
سوزنده چو آتش است لیکن غم را
سازنده چو آب زندگانی است بخور

108. Drink of that wine which is eternal life. Drink, for it is the source of youthful delight. It burns like the fire, but like the Water of Life it cures[1] sorrows. Drink!

Persian texts: Furūghī 108
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 271, Heron-Allen 90, Rosen 162, Christensen 69, Arberry CB/25

[1] Literally, "but, like the Water of Life, it is effective for sorrows. Drink!"

گر باده خوری تو با خردمندان خور — یا با صنمی لاله رخی خندان خور

بسیار مخور ورد مکن فاش مساز — اندک خور و گه گاه خور و پنهان خور

109. If you drink wine, drink with wise men; or drink with a smiling beloved with tulip-tinted cheeks. Drink not too much, babble not about it, disclose it not. Drink a little, drink once in a while, and drink in secret.

Persian texts: Furūghī 109
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 253, Rosen 164, Arberry CB/27

وقت سحراست خیزای طرفه پسر   پرباده لعل کن بلورین ساغر

کاین یکدم عاریت دراین کنج فنا   بسیار بجویی ونیابی دیگر

110. It is the hour of dawn. Rise, O wonderful lad. Fill the crystal goblet with ruby wine. For in this corner of annihilation you will seek much this borrowed minute, and will not find it again.

Persian texts: Furūghī 110
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 251, Rosen 165, Christensen 102, Arberry CB/65

از جمله رفتگان این راه دراز — باز آمده کیست تا به ما گوید راز

پس بر سر این دوراهه آز و نیاز — تا هیچ نمانی که نمی‌آیی باز

111. Of all those who have travelled this long road, who has returned to tell us the secret? Then, in this two-fold way of greed and need, beware that you leave nought behind, for you shall not return.

Persian texts: Furūghī 111, Hedāyat 46, Dashtī 14
Verse translations: Whinfield 258
Prose translations: McCarthy 160, Rosen 167, Christensen 5, Arberry CB/79

ای پیر خردمند پگه تر برخیز — وان کودک خاک بیز را بنگر تیز
پندش ده و گو که نرم نرمک می بیز — مغز سر کیقباد و چشم پرویز

112. O wise old man, rise up earlier in the morning and carefully watch that child who sifts the dust. Counsel him and say: "Gently, gently sift the brain of Kai-qubād's[1] head and the eyes of Parvīz!"[2]

Persian texts: Furūghī 112, Hedāyat 59, Dashtī 38
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen X, Arberry CB/163

[1] The founder of the Kayānī Dynasty, and according to *Shāh-Nāma* of Firdausī a descendant of Farīdūn, one of the famous kings of the Pishdādiyān Dynasty.

[2] One of the Persian kings of the Sāsāniyān Dynasty, and a contemporary of the Prophet. He was fun-loving, extravagant, and unstable.

وقت سحر است خیز ای مایهٔ ناز — نرمک نرمک باده خور و چنگ نواز

کانها که بجایند نپایند بسی — وانها که شدند کس نمی‌آید باز

113. It is the hour of dawn; rise, O essence of delicacy, and softly, softly drink wine and play on the lute. For those who have remained will not last long, and of those who have gone, not one will return.

Persian texts: Furūghī 113, Hedāyat 115, Dashtī 16
Verse translations: FitzGerald 3
Prose translations: McCarthy 44, Rosen III, Christensen 47

مرغی دیدم نشسته بر باره طوس — در پیش نهاده کله کیکاوس

با کله همی گفت که افسوس افسوس — کو بانگ جرسها و کجا ناله کوس

114. I saw perched upon the walls of Ṭūs[1] a bird that had laid before it the skull of Kai-kāʾūs.[2] To the skull it was repeatedly saying: "Alas! alas! Where is the sound of the bells, and where is the wailing of the drum?"

Persian texts: Furūghī 114, Hedāyat 55, Dashtī 33
Verse translations: Whinfield 276
Prose translations: McCarthy 50, Rosen 181, Arberry CB/117

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[1] A city in Persia. See n. 3 of Rubāʿī 52.

[2] One of the Persian kings of the Kayānī Dynasty. See also n. 1 of Rubāʿī 52.

جامی است که عقل آفرین میزندش   صد بوسه ز مهر بر جبین میزندش

این کوزه‌گر دهر چنین جام لطیف   میسازد و باز بر زمین میزندش

115. It is a bowl that the reason admires and out of affection kisses a hundred times on the forehead. (But) this Potter of Time fashions such a delicate bowl and dashes it against the earth again.

Persian texts: Furūghī 115, Hedāyat 43, Dashtī 23
Verse translations: FitzGerald 61, Whinfield 290
Prose translations: Rosen 185

خیام اگر ز باده مستی خوش باش | با ماهرخی اگر نشستی خوش باش
چون عاقبت کار جهان نیستی است | انگار که نیستی چو هستی خوش باش

116. Khayyām, if you are drunk with wine, be happy. If you have sat with a beloved who has a face like the moon,[1] be happy. Since the end of the affairs of the world is nothingness, suppose that you are not, but while you are, be happy.

Persian texts: Furūghī 116, Hedāyat 140
Verse translations: FitzGerald 47, Whinfield 282
Prose translations: McCarthy 85, Heron-Allen 102, Rosen 186, Christensen 5, Arberry CB/166

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[1] Persians think of the moon as a beautiful object. See also n. 1 of Rubā'ī 2.

در کارگه کوزه‌گری رفتم دوش
دیدم دو هزار کوزه گویا و خموش
ناگاه یکی کوزه برآورد خروش
کو کوزه‌گر و کوزه‌خر و کوزه‌فروش

117. Yesterday I went to the workshop of a potter. There I beheld two thousand speaking and silent pots. Suddenly a pot cried out: "Where is the potter, where the buyer of pots, and where the pot-seller?"

Persian texts: Furūghī 117, Hedāyat 73, Dashtī 42
Verse translations: FitzGerald 59–60, Whinfield 283
Prose translations: McCarthy 115, Heron-Allen 103, Rosen 187, Arberry CB/68

ایام زمانه از کسی دارد ننگ   کو در غم ایام نشیند دلتنگ
می خور تو در آبگینه با ناله چنگ   زان پیش که آبگینه آید بر سنگ

118. The days of Time are ashamed of the person who, in the grief of the days, sits with a heavy-laden heart. Drink wine in a glass to the wailing of the lute, ere the glass (of thy life) is dashed against a stone.

Persian texts: Furūghī 118, Hedāyat 127, Dashtī 57
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 144, Rosen VIII and 192, Christensen 31, Arberry CB/51

از جرم گل سیاه تا اوج زحل   کردم همه مشکلات کلی را حل
بگشادم بندهای مشکل بحیل   هر بند گشاده شد بجز بند اجل

119. From this globe of black clay to the height of Saturn, I have solved all the major problems. I have opened difficult knots with cunning. Every knot has been opened except the knot of death.

Persian texts: Furūghī 119
Verse translations: FitzGerald 31, Whinfield 303
Prose translations: Rosen 193

با سرو قدی تازه‌تر از خرمن گل — از دست منه جام می و دامن گل
زان پیش که ناگه شود از باد اجل — پیراهن عمر ما چو پیراهن گل

120. (With a beloved) who is tall like a cypress and tenderer than a harvest of roses, lay not aside from your hand the bowl of wine and the skirt of the rose—not until with the wind of death the robes of our lives shall suddenly become like the robe of the rose.

Persian texts: Furūghī 120
Verse translations: Whinfield 298
Prose translations: McCarthy 228, Rosen 195

ای دوست بیا تا غم فردا نخوریم
وین یکدم عمر را غنیمت شمریم
فردا که ازین دیر فنا درگذریم
با هفت هزار سالکان سربسریم

121. O friend, come, let us not consume tomorrow's grief;
and let us count this one moment of life as plunder.
Tomorrow, when we pass out of this frail tavern,[1] we
will be on the same level with the seven thousand mystics.[2]

Persian texts: Furūghī 121, Hedāyat 130, Dashtī 64
Verse translations: FitzGerald 20, Whinfield 312
Prose translations: McCarthy 194, Rosen 204, Christensen 26, Arberry CB/33

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[1] There is a beautiful pun in this Rubāʿī. *Dair* means a tavern as well as a cloister.

[2] It appears that all the major translators of Khayyām, whose works I have seen so far, have misread *sālikān*. They have read it *sāligān*. The former means "mystics;" the latter is derived from *sāl* which means "year." And this has produced the concept of "seven thousand years" instead of "seven thousand mystics" in so many translations. The error, of course, could have originated from some of the manuscripts. Hence, a major error in various translations of this beautiful Rubāʿī.

این چرخ فلک که ما در او حیرانیم   فانوس خیال از او مثالی دانیم
خورشید چراغدان و عالم فانوس   ما چون صوریم کاندر او حیرانیم

122. This vault of heaven at which we wonder, and think of the magic lantern as its likeness—the sun is the lamp, and the world the shade. We are like figures living in it in amazement.

Persian texts: Furūghī 122, Hedāyat 105, Dashtī 6
Verse translations: FitzGerald 46, Whinfield 310
Prose translations: McCarthy 230, Heron-Allen 108, Rosen 207

برخیز ز خواب تا شرابی بخوریم   زان پیش که از زمانه تابی بخوریم

کاین چرخ ستیزه روی ناگه روزی   چندان ندهد زمان که آبی بخوریم

123. Rise from sleep so that we may drink some wine before we become twisted by Time. For this quarrelsome wheel, suddenly one day, will not give us enough time to drink some water.

Persian texts: Furūghī 123, Dashtī 65
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

برخیزم و عزم بادهٔ ناب کنم   رنگ رخ خود برنگ عناب کنم

این عقل فضول پیشه را مشتی می   بر روی زنم چنانکه در خواب کنم

124. I will rise and decide upon the pure[1] wine. I will make the color of my face jujube-red. And I will so throw in the face of this meddlesome reason a fistful of wine that I will make it sleep.

Persian texts: Furūghī 124
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 110

[1] Undiluted.

بر مفرش خاک خفتگان می بینم — در زیر زمین نهفتگان می بینم

چندانکه بصحرای عدم مینگرم — ناآمدگان و رفتگان می بینم

125. On the bed of earth I see sleepers. I see many people hidden beneath the dust. As much as I look at the Desert of Non-existence, I see people who have gone, and have not come back.

Persian texts: Furūghī 125, Hedāyat 52, Dashtī 10
Verse translations: Whinfield 517
Prose translations: Rosen 212

تا چند اسیر عقل بر روزه شویم — در دهر چه صد ساله چه یک روزه شویم

در ده تو بکاسه می از آن پیش که ما — در کارگه کوزه گران کوزه شویم

126. How long should we be prisoners of vulgar[1] reason? What would it matter if we lived a hundred years in this world, or but one day? Give wine in the bowl ere we, in the work-shop of the potters, become pots.

Persian texts: Furūghī 126
Verse translations: Whinfield 320
Prose translations: McCarthy 312, Heron-Allen 111, Rosen 214, Christensen 53

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[1] Literally, every-day.

چون نیست مقام ما در این دهر مقیم پس بی می و معشوق خطائی است عظیم

تا کی ز قدیم و محدث امیدم و بیم چون من رفتم جهان چه محدث چه قدیم

127. Since our abode in this world is not a permanent one, then it is a great error (to live) without wine and the beloved. How long should I fear the "eternal" and the "temporal"? Once I have departed, what matters it whether the world be temporal or eternal?

Persian texts: Furūghī 127, Hedāyat 93, Dashtī 47
Verse translations: Whinfield 324
Prose translations: McCarthy 320, Heron-Allen 112, Rosen IV and 219, Christensen 9, Arberry CB/104

خورشید بگل نهفت می‌نتوانم　　واسرار زمانه گفت می‌نتوانم
از بحر تفکرم برآورد خرد　　دری که ز بیم سفت می‌نتوانم

128. I cannot hide the sun with clay, and cannot tell the mysteries of Time. From the ocean of meditation wisdom brought me a pearl which from fear I cannot pierce.

Persian texts: Furūghī 128, Dashtī 71
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

دشمن بغلط گفت که من فلسفیم — ایزد داند که آنچه او گفت نیم
لیکن چو درین غم آشیان آمده‌ام — آخر کم از آنکه من بدانم که کیم

129. In error the enemy said that I am a philosopher. God knows that I am not what he said. However, since I have come into this Nest of Sorrows, I would be less than what I am, if I knew not what I am.

Persian texts: Furūghī 129, Dashtī 70
Verse translations: Whinfield 350
Prose translations: —

مائیم که اصل شادی و کان غمیم   سرمایهٔ دادیم و نهاد ستمیم
پستیم و بلندیم و کمالیم و کمیم   آئینهٔ زنگ خورده و جام جمیم

130. It is we who are the root of happiness and the mine of sorrow, the origin of justice and the essence of cruelty. We are low and high, perfect and meager, a rusted mirror, and the bowl of Jam.[1]

Persian texts: Furūghī 130
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

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[1] One of the Persian kings. See n. 1 of Rubāʿī 7.

من می نه ز بهر تنگدستی نخورم   یا از غم رسوائی و مستی نخورم
من می ز برای خوشدلی میخوردم   اکنون که تو بر دلم نشستی نخورم

131. It is not because of poverty that I do not drink wine; neither is it because of worrying about infamy and drunkenness. I used to drink wine for the joy of the heart. Now that you have filled[1] my heart (with love) I will not drink it.

Persian texts: Furūghī 131
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

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[1] Literally, "now that you have sat in my heart I will not drink it."

من بی می ناب زیستن نتوانم   بی باده کشید بار تن نتوانم
من بندهٔ آن دمم که ساقی گوید   یک جام دگر بگیر و من نتوانم

132. I cannot live without pure[1] wine. Without wine I cannot bear the burden of my body. I am the slave of that moment when the Saki says, "Take another bowl," and I cannot.

Persian texts: Furūghī 132, Hedāyat 76
Verse translations: Whinfield 360
Prose translations: McCarthy 3 and 327

[1] Undiluted.

هر یک چندی یکی برآید که منم　　با نعمت و با سیم و زر آید که منم
چون کارک او نظام گیرد روزی　　ناگه اجل از کمین درآید که منم

133. Every once in a while one rises (saying), "It is I."
With riches, silver, and gold he comes (saying), "It is I."
Then, some day, when his little affair(s) are lined up, suddenly Death comes out of an ambush (saying) "IT IS I."

Persian texts: Furūghī 133, Dashtī 25
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

یک چند بکودکی باستاد شدیم — یک چند باستادی خود شاد شدیم
پایان سخن شنو که ما را چه رسید — از خاک درآمدیم و بر باد شدیم

134. For a while, during childhood, we went to a master[1].
For a while we became happy with our own mastery.
Listen to the end of the talk. What happened to us?
We came out of the dust and went with the wind.

Persian texts: Furūghī 134, Hedāyat 37, Dashtī 27
Verse translations: FitzGerald 27–28, Whinfield 353
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 121

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[1] Teacher.

یک روز ز بند عالم آزاد نیم　　　یکدم زدن از وجود خود شاد نیم

شاگردی روزگار کردم بسیار　　　در کار جهان هنوز استاد نیم

135. Not for one day am I free from the fetters of the world. Not for a breathing moment am I happy with my own existence. Long, long have I been the apprentice of Time. Yet I am still not a master in the affairs of the world.

Persian texts: Furūghī 135, Dashtī 75
Verse translations: Whinfield 346
Prose translations: McCarthy 371

از دی که گذشت هیچ ازو یاد مکن   فردا که نیامدست فریاد مکن

برنامده و گذشته بنیاد مکن   حالی خوش باش و عمر بر باد مکن

136. Recall not at all yesterday that has passed. Lament not over tomorrow that has not come. Build not on what has not come and what has passed. Bet happy now and cast not your life to the wind.

Persian texts: Furūghī 136, Dashtī 54
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 377, Rosen 248

ای دیده اگر کور نه‌ای گور ببین
وین عالم پر فتنه و پر شور ببین
شاهان و سران و سروران زیر گلند
روهای چو مه در دهن مور ببین

137. O, eye, if you are not blind see the grave, and see this world of many intrigues and commotions. The kings, the heads,[1] and the lords are all beneath the clay. See (fair) faces like the moon in the mouths of ants.

Persian texts: Furūghī 137
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

[1] The chiefs.

برخیز و مخور غم جهان گذران   بنشین و دمی بشادمانی گذران
در طبع جهان اگر وفائی بودی   نوبت بتو خود نیامدی از دگران

138. Rise and consume not the grief of this passing world. Sit down and spend a short while in happiness. If there were (a grain of) loyalty in the nature of the world, the turn (of living) would verily not come to you from others.

Persian texts: Furūghī 138, Hedāyat 124
Verse translations: FitzGerald 22, Whinfield 366
Prose translations: McCarthy 336

چون حاصل آدمی در این شورستان
جز خوردن غصه نیست تا کندن جان
خرم دل آنکه زین جهان زود برفت
وآسوده کسی که خود نیامد بجهان

139. Since the harvest of man in this salt-marsh[1] is nothing but pining away and drudgery,[2] happy is the heart of the one who has departed swiftly from the world, and at peace the one who never came to the world.

Persian texts: Furūghī 139, Hedāyat 25
Verse translations: Whinfield 387
Prose translations: McCarthy 1, Heron-Allen 124, Rosen 246, Christensen 112

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[1] A metaphor, meaning this undesirable world.

[2] Another meaning of *jān-kandan* is "having the agonies of death." However, *jān-kandan* is an idiomatic phrase which is used in the sense that I have given here in this translation, that is "drudgery". If this idiomatic expression were not used as such when Khayyām was living, then the second hemistich, i.e., "is nothing but pining away and drudgery," should read: "is nothing but grieving till death."

رفتم که درین منزل بیداد بدن
در دست نخواهد بجز از باد بدن
آنرا باید بمرگ من شاد بدن
کز دست اجل تواند آزاد بدن

140. I went, for in this cruel house of the body nothing but wind will be in the hand. He should rejoice in my death who can be free from the hand of death.

Persian texts: Furūghī 140
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

رندی دیدم نشسته بر خنگ زمین   نه کفر و نه اسلام و نه دنیا و نه دین
نه حق نه حقیقت نه شریعت نه یقین   اندر دو جهان کرا بود زهرهٔ این

141. I saw a knave sitting on the gray horse of the earth who knew neither heresy, nor Islam, nor the world, nor religion, nor God, nor truth, nor law, nor certitude. In both worlds who has the courage for this?

Persian texts: Furūghī 141, Hedāyat 104
Verse translations: Whinfield 375
Prose translations: McCarthy 353

قانع بیک استخوان چو کرکس بودن　　　به زانکه طفیل خوان ناکس بودن

با نان جوین خویش حقا که به است　　　کالوده به پالوده هر خس بودن

142. To be content like a vulture with a bone is better than being a parasite at the table of a base man. And to be (satisfied) with the barley bread of one's own is, indeed, better than being stained with the beverage of every vile person.

Persian texts: Furūghī 142
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

قومی متفکرند اندر ره دین　　　قومی بگمان فتاده در راه یقین

میترسم از آنکه بانگ آید روزی　　　کای بیخبران راه نه آنست و نه این

143. Some are musing along the path of religion. Some imagine that they are on the road to certitude. I fear that one day there may come a cry that, O ignorant ones, the road is neither this nor that.

Persian texts: Furūghī 143
Verse translations: FitzGerald 24, Whinfield 376
Prose translations: McCarthy 434, Rosen 250

گاوی است در آسمان و نامش پروین یک گاو دگر نهفته در زیر زمین
چشم خردت باز کن از روی یقین زیر و زبر دو گاو مشتی خر بین

144. There is a bull in the sky who is named Parwīn.[1] There is another bull hidden beneath the earth.[2] Open your eyes of wisdom and in truth see a fistful of asses under and over the bulls.

Persian texts: Furūghī 144, Hedāyat 15
Verse translations: Whinfield 377
Prose translations: McCarthy 381

[1] Taurus (bull), the second sign of the zodiac.
[2] It is said in the ancient legends that there is a bull that bears the earth on its horn. Khayyām is referring to this one in the second hemistich of this quatrain.

گر بر فلکم دست بدی چون یزدان   برداشتمی من این فلک را ز میان

وز نو فلکی دگر چنان ساختمی   کازاده بکام دل رسیدی آسان

145. If I could reach to heaven like God, I would destroy this heaven. Then, anew, I would so build another heaven that the free man could easily gain his heart's desire.

Persian texts: Furūghī 145, Hedāyat 25
Verse translations: FitzGerald 73, Whinfield 379
Prose translations: McCarthy 378, Rosen 251, Arberry CB/162

مشنو سخن از زمانه ساز آمدگان می خواه مروق بطراز آمدگان

رفتند یکان یکان فراز آمدگان کس می ندهد نشان ز باز آمدگان

146. Do not listen to the time servers. Ask for clear wine for those who have come in embroidered robes. Those who came exalted departed one by one. No one gives the address of those who returned.

Persian texts: Furūghī 146, Dashtī 13
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

می خوردن و گرد نیکوان گردیدن   بزانکه بزرق زاهدی ورزیدن

گر عاشق و مست دوزخی خواهد بود   پس روی بهشت کس نخواهد دیدن

147. To drink wine and to go around the beautiful ones is better than to pretend devotion with hypocrisy. If the lovers and the tipplers should go to hell, no one then will see the face of paradise.

Persian texts: Furūghī 147
Verse translations: Whinfield 381
Prose translations: McCarthy 365, Heron-Allen 127, Rosen 256, Arberry CB/133

نتوان دل شاد را بغم فرسودن — وقت خوش خود بسنگ محنت سودن

کس غیب چه داند که چه خواهد بودن — می باید و معشوق و بکام آسودن

148. One cannot chafe a joyous heart with sorrow. (One cannot) grind one's happy time against the stone of toil. Who can foresee what is to be? There must be wine and the beloved and rest after satisfied desires.

Persian texts: Furūghī 148
Verse translations: Whinfield 382
Prose translations: McCarthy 433, Heron-Allen 128, Christensen 71

آن قصر که بر چرخ همی زد پهلو — بر درگه او شهان نهادندی رو

دیدم که بر کنگره‌اش فاخته‌ای — بنشسته همی گفت که کوکو کوکو

149. Yon palace which used to rub its side against the vault of heaven, and towards whose threshhold kings turned their faces—we saw a ringdove sitting on its battlements, and it was crying "coo coo, coo coo!"[1]

Persian texts: Furūghī 149, Hedāyat 56, Dashtī 31
Verse translations: Whinfield 392
Prose translations: McCarthy 364, Rosen 257, Christensen 115

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[1] *Coo, coo* is the verbal imitation of cooing of a dove. Also, *coo* means "where?"

از آمدن و رفتن ما سودی کو	وز تار امید عمر ما پودی کو
چندین سر و پای نازنینان جهان	میسوزد و خاک میشود دودی کو

150. What is the good of our coming and going?[1] And where is the woof (left) to the warp of our life's hope? So many heads and legs of the lovely ones of the world are burning and turning to dust. Where is a sigh?[2]

Persian texts: Furūghī 150, Hedāyat 18
Verse translations: Whinfield 393
Prose translations: McCarthy 366?, Heron-Allen 130, Rosen 259, Christensen 114, Arberry CB/19

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[1] Birth and death.

[2] Literally *dūd* means "smoke," and figuratively "sigh."

از تن چو برفت جان پاک من و تو — خشتی دو نهند بر مغاک من و تو

وانگاه برای خشت گور دگران — در کالبدی کشند خاک من و تو

151. Once from the body have departed my pure soul and yours, they will lay a couple of bricks upon my ditch[1] and yours. Then, for the bricks of the graves of others, in a frame they will mould my dust and yours.

Persian texts: Furūghī 151, Hedāyat 57
Verse translations: Whinfield 391
Prose translations: McCarthy 363, Rosen 260, Arberry CB/126

[1] Grave.

می خور که فلک بهر هلاک من و تو
قصدی دارد بجان پاک من و تو
در سبزه نشین و می روشن میخور
کاین سبزه بسی دمد ز خاک من و تو

152. Drink wine, for to destroy me and thee, heaven has a plot against the innocent soul of me and thee. Sit on the grass and drink clear wine, for this grass will spring many times from the dust of me and thee.

Persian texts: Furūghī 152, Hedāyat 64
Verse translations: Whinfield 390
Prose translations: McCarthy 358, Heron-Allen 129, Rosen XII and 262, Christensen 35, Arberry CB/90

از هرچه بجز می است کوتاهی به   می هم ز کف بتان خرگاهی به

مستی و قلندری و گمراهی به   یک جرعهٔ می ز ماه تا ماهی به

153. To be short of everything else but wine is best. Wine, too, from the hands of the (beautiful) pavilion idols is best. Drunkenness, living like the wanderers, and being lost is best. From the moon (above) to the fish (below) a draught of wine is best.

Persian texts: Furūghī 153
Verse translations: Whinfield 404
Prose translations: McCarthy 437?, Heron-Allen 153, Rosen 266, Christensen 19, Arberry CB/82

بنگر ز صبا دامن گل چاک شده   بلبل ز جمال گل طربناک شده

در سایهٔ گل نشین که بسیار این گل   در خاک فرو ریزد و ما خاک شده

154. Behold, the skirt of the rose is torn by the zephyr, and the nightingale is merry because of the beauty of the rose. Sit in the shade of the rose, for many times this rose will fall upon the dust when we have become dust.

Persian texts: Furūghī 154, Hedāyat 60
Verse translations: Whinfield 414
Prose translations: McCarthy 463, Heron-Allen 135, Rosen 270, Arberry CB/50

تا کی غم آن خورم که دارم یا نه
وین عمر بخوشدلی گذارم یا نه
پرکن قدح باده که معلومم نیست
کاین دم که فرو برم برآرم یا نه

155. How long should I grieve over whether I have or not, and whether I should spend this life with a merry heart or not? Fill the bowl of wine, for I do not know whether I will breathe out the breath that I (now) breathe in or not.

Persian texts: Furūghī 155, Hedāyat 137, Dashtī 55
Verse translations: Whinfield 411
Prose translations: McCarthy 465, Heron-Allen 136, Rosen 272

یک جرعه می کهن ز ملکی نو به　　　وز هرچه نه می طریق بیرون شو به

در دست به از تخت فریدون صد بار　　　خشت سر خم ز ملک کیخسرو به

156. Better a draught of old wine than a new kingdom. Better to get out of the channel of everything that is not wine. And the brick that covers the mouth of the jar a hundred times better than the throne of Farīdūn[1] and the kingdom of Kai-khusrau.[2]

Persian texts: Furūghī 156
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 402, Heron-Allen 159, Rosen 282

[1] One of the Persian kings of the Pīshdādiyān Dynasty. He overthrew Daḥḥāk.

[2] Kai-khusrau was one of the Persian kings of the Kayānī Dynasty. He was the grandson of Kai-Kā'ūs and Afrāsiāb. After ruling successfully for many years he went to a high mountain together with several of his companions where he bathed and disappeared. He is considered immortal in *Avestā*.

آن مایه ز دنیا که خوری یا پوشی   معذوری اگر در طلبش میکوشی
باقی همه رایگان نیرزد هشدار   تا عمر گرانبها بدان نفروشی

157. If you try to seek that much of the worldly substance that you eat or wear you are excused. The remaining all will not be worth receiving free. Beware that you do not sell your precious life for it.

Persian texts: Furūghī 157, Dashtī 61
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen 283, Arberry CB/74

از آمدن بهار و از رفتن دی ‌ ‌ ‌ اوراق وجود ما همی گردد طی

می خور مخور اندوه که فرمود حکیم ‌ ‌ ‌ غمهای جهان چو زهر و تریاقش می

158. By the coming of spring and the going of winter[1] the leaves of (the book of) our life keep turning over. Drink wine. Grieve not. For the philosopher has said: "The sorrows of the world are like poison and wine its antidote."

Persian texts: Furūghī 158, Hedāyat 128
Verse translations: FitzGerald 8, Whinfield 444
Prose translations: McCarthy 309, Rosen 286, Christensen 121, Arberry CB/112

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[1] Literally, the tenth month of the solar year. Hence, winter.

از کوزه‌گری کوزه خریدم باری — آن کوزه سخن گفت ز هر اسراری

شاهی بودم که جام زرینم بود — اکنون شده‌ام کوزهٔ هر خماری

159. From a potter once I bought a pot, and that pot spoke of every mystery: "I was a king," (it said), "and had a golden bowl. Now I am the pot of every wine-seller."

Persian texts: Furūghī 159, Dashtī 43
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

ای آنکه نتیجه چهار و هفتی   وز هفت و چهار دائم اندر تفتی
می خور که هزار بار بیشت گفتم   باز آمدنت نیست چو رفتی رفتی

160. O, thou, who art the result of the four[1] and seven,[2] and from the seven and four art always in rage! Drink wine, for I have told thee a thousand times before, "There is no returning for thee. Once thou art gone, thou art gone."

Persian texts: Furūghī 160, Hedāyat 29, Dashtī 15
Verse translations: Whinfield 431
Prose translations: McCarthy 345, Rosen XIII, Christensen 27

[1] The four elements: earth, water, air, and fire.
[2] The seven planets.

ای دل تو باسرار معما نرسی　　　در نکته زیرکان دانا نرسی
این جا بمی لعل بهشتی میساز　　　کانجا که بهشت است رسی یا نرسی

161. O heart, thou wilt not grasp the secrets of the enigma, thou wilt not grasp the wit of the wise and clever ones. Fashion a paradise here with ruby wine, for, where paradise is, thou mayest or mayest not reach.

Persian texts: Furūghī 161, Hedāyat 4, Dashtī 49
Verse translations: Whinfield 427
Prose translations: McCarthy 325, Heron-Allen 143, Rosen 295, Christensen 33

ای دوست حقیقت شنو از من سخنی   با باده لعل باش و با سیم تنی
کانکس که جهان کرد فراغت دارد   از سبلت چون توئی و ریش چو منی

162. O friend, hear a word of truth from me. Take ruby wine and (a beloved) with a fair body. For the One Who fashioned the world has no concern for the mustaches of such as you and the beard of such as me.

Persian texts: Furūghī 162, Dashtī 52
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Rosen 321

ای کاش که جای آرمیدن بودی	یا این ره دور را رسیدن بودی

کاش از پی صد هزار سال از دل خاک	چون سبزه امید بردمیدن بودی

163. O would that there were a place to rest; or that we would arrive at the end of this long road. Would that after a hundred thousand years, like the green grass, there were hope to spring from the heart of the dust again.

Persian texts: Furūghī 163, Hedāyat 22, Dashtī 18
Verse translations: Whinfield 442
Prose translations: McCarthy 440, Arberry CB/21

برسنگ زدم دوش سبوی کاشی　　سرمست بدم چو کردم این اوباشی

با من بزبان حال میگفت سبو　　من چون تو بدم تو نیز چون من باشی

164. Last night I dashed an earthen pot against a stone. I was drunk when I did this roguishness. The pot was telling me in a mute language: "I was like thee. Thou, too, wilt be like me."

Persian texts: Furūghī 164, Hedāyat 67, Dashtī 40
Verse translations: Whinfield 446
Prose translations: McCarthy 395, Heron-Allen 146, Rosen VI and 299, Christensen 36, Arberry CB/58

بر شاخ امید اگر بری یافتمی — هم رشتهٔ خویش را سری یافتمی

تا چند ز تنگنای زندان وجود — ای کاش سوی عدم دری یافتمی

165. Upon the bough of hope if I could find a leaf, I could also find the end of my (being's) thread. How long (to stay) in this tight prison-house of existence? O, I wish I could find a door to nonexistence.

Persian texts: Furūghī 165
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

برگیر پیاله و سبو ای دلجوی   فارغ بنشین بکشتزار و لب جوی

بس شخص عزیز را که چرخ بدخوی   صد بار پیاله کرد و صد بار سبوی

166. Lift the cup and jar, O heart's desire. Sit free from cares on a sown field and along the fringes of a brook: for many dear ones that this ill-tempered wheel[1] a hundred times has turned into cups, and a hundred times into pots.

Persian texts: Furūghī 166, Dashtī 45
Verse translations: Whinfield 396
Prose translations: McCarthy 431, Heron-Allen 147, Rosen 263

[1] Wheel of heaven.

پیری دیدم بخانهٔ خماری گفتم نکنی ز رفتگان اخباری

گفتا می خور که همچو ما بسیاری رفتند و خبر باز نیامد باری

167. I saw an old man at the home of a wine seller and said: "Won't you give us some news from those who have departed?" He said: "Drink wine, for many like us have departed, and not even once came tidings."

Persian texts: Furūghī 167, Hedāyat 48
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: McCarthy 313, Rosen 301

تا چند حدیث پنج و چار ای ساقی   مشکل چه یکی چه صد هزار ای ساقی
خاکیم همه چنگ بساز ای ساقی   بادیم همه باده بیار ای ساقی

168. How much talk about the five[1] and four[2], O cup-bearer? What if the problem were one, what if it were a hundred thousand, O cup-bearer. We are all dust; play the lute, O cup-bearer. We are all wind; bring wine, O cup-bearer.

Persian texts: Furūghī 168
Verse translations: Whinfield 453
Prose translations: McCarthy 328

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[1] The five senses.
[2] The four elements: earth, water, air, and fire.

چندانکه نگاه میکنم هر سوئی   در باغ روان است ز کوثر جوئی

صحرا چو بهشت است ز کوثر کم گوی   بنشین به بهشت با بهشتی روئی

169. As long as I look in every direction I see a brook flowing from Kausar[1] into the garden. The desert has become like paradise. Speak less of Kausar. Sit down in (this) paradise with one who has a face like paradise.

Persian texts: Furūghī 169
Verse translations: Whinfield 459
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 151, Christensen 18

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[1] A river in paradise, according to Muslim beliefs.

خوش باش که پخته‌اند سودای تو دی فارغ شده‌اند از تمنای تو دی

قصه چه کنم که بی تقاضای تو دی دادند قرار کار فردای تو دی

170. Be happy, for they settled[1] your business yesterday. They became free from your supplications yesterday. What tale shall I tell? For, without your request, yesterday they arranged for your affairs for the morrow.

Persian texts: Furūghī 170, Dashtī 74
Verse translations: Whinfield 489
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 152

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[1] Or, they decided on the course of your affairs. Literally, "They cooked your business".

در کارگه کوزه‌گری کردم رای   در پایهٔ چرخ دیدم استاد بپای
میکرد دلیر کوزه را دسته و سر   از کلهٔ پادشاه و از دست گدای

171. I went into a potter's workshop and saw the master standing (with his foot) on the treadle of the wheel. From the skulls of the kings and from the hands of the beggars he was boldly making handles and heads for the pots.

Persian texts: Furūghī 171, Hedāyat 71, Dashtī 39
Verse translations: Whinfield 466
Prose translations: McCarthy 393, Rosen 310, Christensen 117

در گوش دلم گفت فلک پنهانی　　حکمی که قضا بود ز من میدانی

در گردش خویش اگر مرا دست بدی　　خود را برهاندمی ز سرگردانی

172. In the ear of my heart secretly whispered heaven: "Do you think that a sentence which was your destiny was from me? If I had a hand in my own revolutions, I would free myself from this wandering."

Persian texts: Furūghī 172, Hedāyat 33
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: Heron-Allen 154

زان کوزهٔ می که نیست در وی ضرری	پر کن قدحی بخور بمن ده دگری

زان پیشتر ای صنم که در رهگذری	خاک من و تو کوزه کند کوزه‌گری

173. Of that jar of wine, in which there is no harm, fill a bowl and drink; then give me another—ere on a path, O fair idol, a potter should make pots from my dust and thine.

Persian texts: Furūghī 173, Hedāyat 68
Verse translations: Whinfield 468
Prose translations: McCarthy 388?, Rosen 312, Arberry CB/122

گر آمدنم بخود بُدی نامدمی — ور نیز شدن بمن بُدی کی شدمی

به زان نبُدی که اندرین دیر خراب — نه آمدمی نه شدمی نه بُدمی

174. If my coming were left to me I would not come. And if my going, too, were up to me, how would I go? Were it not better that in this ruined cloister[1] I neither came, nor went, nor existed?[2]

Persian texts: Furūghī 174, Hedāyat 17
Verse translations: FitzGerald 30, Whinfield 490
Prose translations: McCarthy 317, Heron-Allen 157, Rosen 318, Christensen 34

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[1] This world.

[2] This Rubā'i has also been attributed to Ibn Sīnā (980-1037), the famous Persian philosopher and physician.

گر دست دهد ز مغز گندم نانی — وز می دومنی ز گوسفندی رانی

با لاله رخی و گوشهٔ بستانی — عیشی بود آن نه حد هر سلطانی

175. If a loaf of wheaten bread could be had, two measures of wine and a leg of mutton, together (with a beloved) with tulip cheeks, and in the corner of a garden; it would be a luxury not in the power of every sultan.

Persian texts: Furūghī 175
Verse translations: FitzGerald 11, Whinfield 479
Prose translations: McCarthy 398, Heron-Allen 155, Rosen 320, Christensen 28, Arberry CB/125

گر کار فلک بعدل سنجیده بدی　　احوال فلک جمله پسندیده بدی

ور عدل بدی بکارها در گردون　　کی خاطر اهل فضل رنجیده بدی

176. If the affairs of heaven were measured with justice, the conditions of heaven would all be admirable. And if there were justice in affairs of the wheel,[1] when would the hearts of the learned folk be vexed?

Persian texts: Furūghī 176
Verse translations: —
Prose translations: —

[1] Wheel of heaven (or, possibly, wheel of fortune).

هان کوزه گرا بپای اگر هشیاری   تا چند کنی بر گل مردم خواری

انگشت فریدون و کف کیخسرو   بر چرخ نهاده‌ای چه می پنداری

177. O potter, be careful if you are sober! How long will you degrade the clay of the people? It is the finger of Farīdūn[1] and the palm of Kai-Khusrau[2] that you have placed upon the wheel. What do you think?

Persian texts: Furūghī 177, Hedāyat 70
Verse translations: Whinfield 437
Prose translations: McCarthy 460, Rosen 297

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[1] See n. 1 of Rubāʿī 156.
[2] See n. 2 of Rubāʿī 156.

هنگام صبوح ای صنم فرخ پی — برساز ترانهٔ و پیش آور می

کافکند بخاک صد هزاران جم و کی — این آمدن تیرمه و رفتن دی

178. At the hour of the morning-draught sing a song and serve the wine, O thou idol who art sought by good fortune. For this coming of the month of Tīr[1] and going of Dai[2] has hurled against the earth a hundred thousand Jams[3] and Kais.[4]

Persian texts: Furūghī 178, Hedāyat 116, Dashtī 54
Verse translations: FitzGerald 8, Whinfield 484
Prose translations: McCarthy 315, Rosen 328, Christensen 118, Arberry CB/94

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[1] Persian name of the fourth month of the solar year. Hence, summer.
[2] Persian name of the tenth month of the solar year. Hence, winter.
[3] One of the kings of Persia. See n. 1 of Rubā'ī 7, and n. 2 of Rubā'ī 17.
[4] The title of any and all kings of the Kayānī Dynasty of Persia.

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Appendix

The following six quatrains appear in Dashtī's group of so-called key rubāʿīs but not in Furūghī's collection:

5.

مائیم در این گنبد دیرینه اساس
جوینده رخنه‌ای چو مور اندر طاس
آگاه نه از منزل و امید و هراس
سرگشته و چشم بسته چون گاو خراس

8.

آنی که نبودت به خور و خواب نیاز
کردند نیازمندت این چار انباز
هر یک بتو آنچه داد بستاند باز
تا باز چنان شوی که بودی آغاز

17.

می خور که بزیر گل بسی خواهی خفت
بی مونس و بی حریف و بی همدم و جفت
زنهار بکس مگو تو این راز نهفت
هر لاله که پژمرد نخواهد بشکفت

26.

ما لعبتکانیم و فلک لعبت باز
از روی حقیقتی نه از روی مجاز
بازی چو همی کنیم بر نطع وجود
افتیم بصندوق عدم یک یک باز

41.

لب بر لب کوزه بردم از غایت آز
تا زو طلبم واسطهٔ عمر دراز
لب بر لب من نهاد و میگفت براز
عمری چو تو بوده ام دمی با من ساز

68.

در جستن جام جم جهان پیمودم
روزی ننشستم و شبی نغنودم
ز استاد چو راز جام جم بشنودم
آن جام جهان نمای جم من بودم